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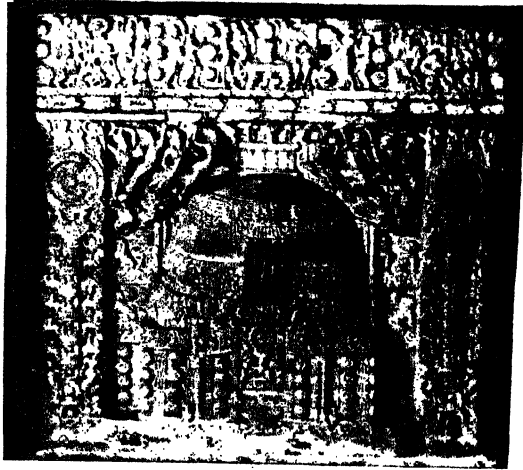
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JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

VOLUME VII, Part I.

(July 1932)



Amaravati Sculpture depicting a Stupa.

1932.

RAJAHMUNDRY.

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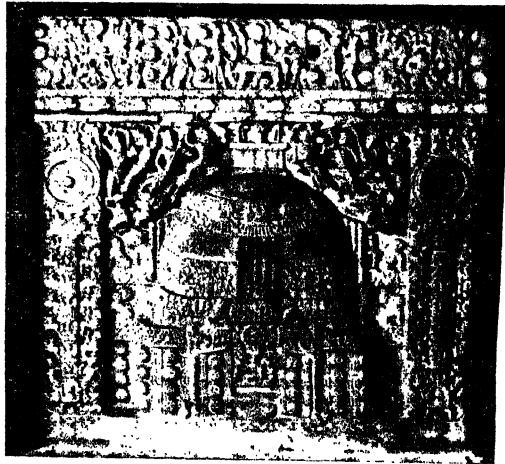
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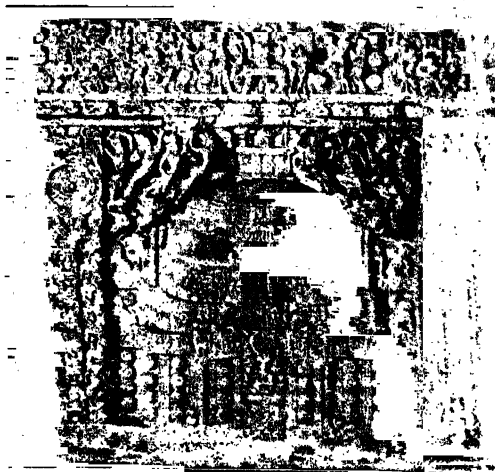
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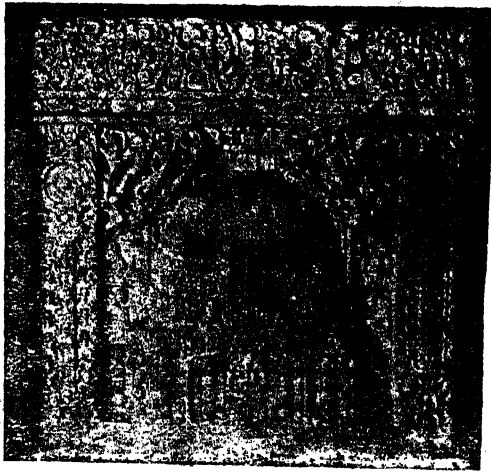
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July 1932.

Part I.

GENELOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE PALLAVAS.

(From Kalabhartri to Paramesvara varma II)

GOVIND PAI.

PALLAVA GENEOLGY.

From the Omgodu (No. 1) 1 plates, we have the following Pallava pedigree.

Kumaravishnu
|
Skandavarma
|
Viravarma
|
Vijaya-Skandavarma.

From the Mangalur,² Pikira³ and Omgodu (No. 2) ⁴ plates, we have

Viravarma
|
Skandavarma
|
Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa
|
Simhavarma

1. M. E. R. 1916 (p. 113).

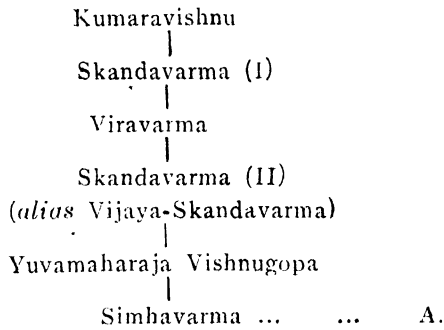
2. I. A. (V. p. 154)

3. E. I. (VIII. p. 159)

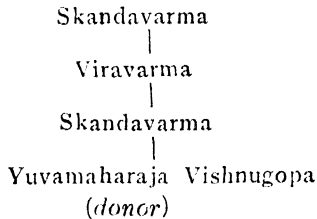
4. M.E.R. 1916 (p. 114)

We know from the records of that age that the names *Vijaya Siva* and sometimes *Vijaya Siva* were used alternatively perhaps, as honorific prefixes with hardly any difference of meaning with the personal name of the same king⁵ as will soon be evident when we shall see that *Vijaya*-Vishnugopa (II) of the Chura plates is identical with Vishnugopa (II) of the Guntur plates, and *Vijaya*-Buddhavarma of the British museum plates is identical with Buddhavarma of the Chendalur plates. Consequently, we can easily and correctly identify Vijaya-Skandavarma of the Omgodu (No. 1) plates with Śkandavarma of the Mangalur, Pikira and Omgodu (No. 2) plates, as in each case the father's name is Viravarma.

Consolidating these two pedigrees, we have the following table.



Now the Uruvapalli plates,⁶ which give the following genealogy:—

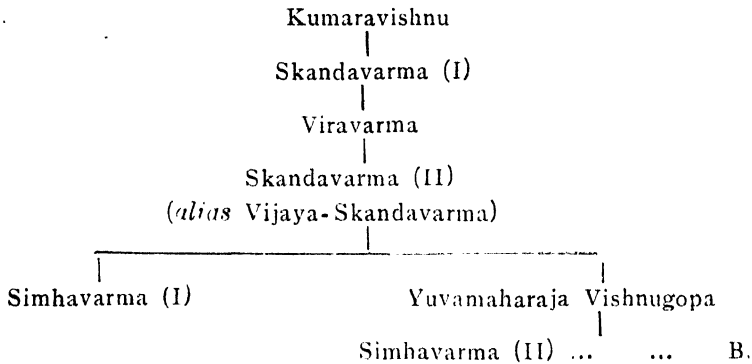


and which record a grant of Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa are dated in the 11th regnal year of Simhavarma. Simhavarma must therefore be the then reigning king, under whom the donor Vishnugopa was the crown-prince (Yuvamaharaja). But we know that Simhavarma could not be the father of Vishnugopa, who, as is apparent from this grant itself (as well as the Mangalur, Pikira and Omgodu No. 2 plates) was the son of Skandavarma (*alias* Vijaya-Skandavarma). So the only possible alternative is that Simhavarma was the elder brother of the donor crown-

5. We have similar instances in the early Kadamba records. Mrigesavarma is named as *Vijayasiva* Mrigesavarma (I. A. VII p. 37); Krishnavarma II as *Vijayasiva* Krishnavarma (E.C. Bl. 245) &c.

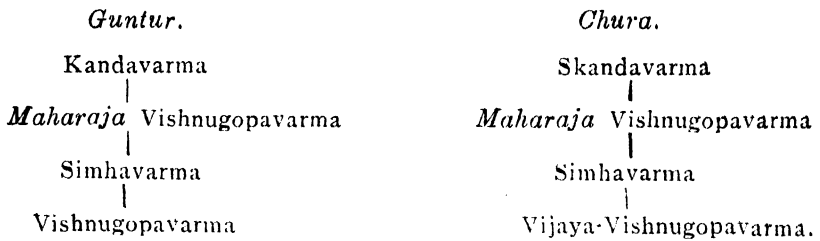
6. I. A. (V. p. 50)

prince Vishnugopa. The Uruvapalli genealogy then will have to be extended by the addition of Simhavarma's name, and when thereafter it is consolidated with the above table A. it would stand thus :—



Thus, the uniform descent in one line from Kumaravishnu to Skandavarma (II) splits into two branches with the latter's sons Simhavarma (I) and Yuva Maharaja Vishnugopa.

Then, we have the Guntur plates⁷ and the Chura plates⁸ which give :—



Whence we can easily make out that Skandavarma and Kandavarma are one and the same person, as *Kanda* is merely a vulgar or vernacular variant of the Sanskrit name *Skanda*, and also that Vishnugopavarma, the 4th name in the Guntur plates is identical with *Vijaya*-Vishnugopavarma, the 4th name in the Chura plates, as prefix *Vijaya* occurring in the latter name is merely honorific, as we have already seen. Further, we infer from both of these sets of plates, which mention Vishnugopavarma (the 2nd name in both of these sets) as a *Mahārāja* that he must have actually ruled as king, and our inference is confirmed by the fact that the said Vishnugopa (I) has been placed in the regular list of actual kings in the Kasakudi plates⁹ as well as the Vayalur pillar inscription.¹⁰ Consequently the misnomer *Yuvamahārāja* Vishnugopa of the Mangalur, Pikira and Omgodu (No. 2) plates of his own son Simhavarma (II),

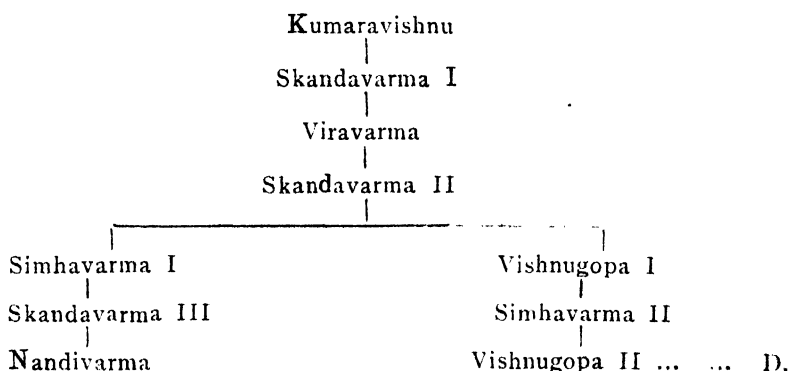
7. M.E.R. 1912 (p. 82)

8. M.E.R. 1914 (p. 82)

9. S. I. I. (II. p. 342)

10. E. I. (XVIII. pp. 145—52)

When therefore the table C is extended in its left-hand side by the addition of these names, it would stand thus:—



In the Velurpalaiyam plates,¹² it is said that after Buddhavarma several kings passed away including Vishnugopa before Nandivarma was born. This Vishnugopa therefore must be the *second* king of that name, in that, whereas none else of those several kings that passed away before Nandivarma has been mentioned, not even Nandivarma's own father Skandavarma III (though according to the Udayendiram No. 1 plates, we know he did rule as king), Vishnugopa alone has been mentioned by name. Wherefore the only possible conclusion is that he must have been the immediate predecessor of Nandivarma and his name has been accordingly mentioned immediately before that of his successor Nandivarma. Between Vishnugopa I and Nandivarma, at least 2 kings must have reigned, viz. Skandavarma III the father of Nandivarma, and Simhavarma II the son of Vishnugopa I and the uncle of Nandivarma, whereas between Vishnugopa II and Nandivarma, who were cousin-brothers as is quite apparent, there is no room for even a single other name. It may be objected that as we are informed from the said plates (several kings including) Vishnugopa had *passed away before* Nandivarma was *born*, the particular Vishnugopa mentioned in these plates could not be the immediate predecessor of Nandivarma, but must be some remote king. Wherefore he would most likely be the first king of that name *i.e.* Vishnugopa I who was the Grand-uncle of Nandivarma. But if we would just move a few lines above in the same pedigree, we would find that Kumaravishnu is said to have been *born after* Skandasishya, whereas, as we shall soon see, Kumaravishnu was the son as well as the immediate successor of Skandasishya. Evidently, therefore, the particular Vishnugopa, who has been mentioned before Nandivarma in

these plates, could not but be the immediate predecessor of the latter, and therefore must be Vishnugopa II. It is perhaps because Vishnugopa II was Nandivarma's senior in age that he ruled before Nandivarma, though the latter was apparently the senior in rank, as he was descended from the senior branch.

It is further stated in the same plates that after this Nandivarma *came* Simhavarma, from whom was *born* the victorious Simhavishnu. From these statements, it is clear that Simhavarma was not the son of Nandivarma, but was undoubtedly his immediate successor, as no break in succession has been indicated between them and also that Simhavishnu was the son as well as the immediate successor of Simhavarma. This Simhavarma, therefore, must have sprung from the collateral branch (*i.e.* the junior branch of Nandivarma's cousin-brother and immediate predecessor Vishnugopa II, and must also be the son of Vishnugopa II, as is confirmed by the fact that his name stands between those of Vishnugopa and Simhavishnu in the fragment H of the Vayalur pillar inscription. The geneolgy found in this fragment (H) further extends as follows:—

Vishnugopa
|
Simhavishnu
|
Mahendravarma I
|
Narasimhavarma
|
Mahendravarma II
|
Paramesvara potavarma
|
Rajasimha.

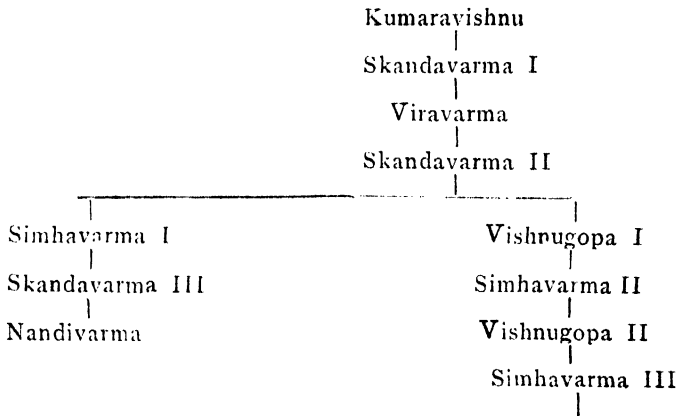
Comparing this with the lineage of Simhavishnu as given in the Udayendiram (No. 2) plates,¹³ we get the following:—

Simhavishnu
|
Mahendravarma I
|
Narasimhavarma I
|
Mahendravarma II
|
Paramesvaravarma I
|
Narasimhavarma II
|
Paramesvaravarma II

13. S. I. I. (II, pp. 361-74) This geneology goes yet a step further, but for the purposes of this article, we stop with Paramesvaravarma II.

We can easily make out that Paramesvarapottavarma of the Vayalur inscription is identical with Paramesvaravarma I, and that Rajasimha of that inscription was also known as Narasimhavarma II. Now the exact filiation between Mahendravarma II and his successor Paramesvaravarma I has to be conclusively determined as in the Kasakudi plates it is said that Narasimhavarma I's son was Mahendravarma II, and then there came Paramesvarapottavarma *i. e.* Paramesvaravarma I. This, when strengthened by the fact that the name of Mahendravarma II has been entirely omitted between those of Narasimhavarma I and Paramesvaravarma I in the Velurpalaiyam plates, is likely to lead to the suspicion that Paramesvaravarma I could not be the son of Mahendravarma II, but might be a brother.¹⁴ But if we would just remember that both the Kasakudi and the Velurpalaiyam plates¹⁵ are much later records than the times of Mahendravarma II as well as Paramesvaravarma I, and at the same time would also believe the grantor Paramesvaravarma I himself, who in his own Kuram plates¹⁶ distinctly says that he is *the son of* Mahendravarma II, which filiation is again confirmed in the Vayalur pillar inscriptions (fragment II) of Paramesvaravarma I's own son Rajasimha alias Narasimhavarma II, all the doubt will at once be cleared.

The above table D will have now to be further extended in the lineage of Vishnugopa II, when it would stand thus:—



¹⁴ H. P. G. (Notes, p. 13).

¹⁵ It may also be remembered here that according to the Velurpalaiyam plates Narasimhavarma II was the son's son (पुत्रपुत्र) of Paramesvaravarma I, whereas according to all the other records, including even the Kasakudi plates, the father and the former were father and son.

¹⁶ S. I. I, (I, pp. 144—55)

Simhavishnu

|
Mahendravarma I

|
Narasimhavarma I
alias Narasimhavishnu I

|
Mahendravarma II

|
Paramesvaravarma I

|
Narasimhavarma II
(*alias* Narasimhavishnu II
alias Rajasimha)

|
Paramesavarma II ... E.
(*alias* Mahendravarma III)

It may be noted here that (1) Mahendravarma I is called in the Vallam cave inscription¹⁷ by the *birudas* of *Lalitānkura*, *Satru malla*, *Gunabhara*; (2) Narasimhavarma I is also known as *Narasimhavishnu* I in the Badami rock-inscription (I. A. Vol. IX. p. 99; and F. K. D. pp. 328—29); (3) Paramesvaravarma I is called by the name *Ugradanda* in the Rajasimesvara shrine inscription,¹⁸ and also as *Lōkaditya* in the Kailasanatha temple inscription¹⁹; (S. I. I. Vol. I. pp. 22—23), and as *Kujasimha* in the Kailasanatha temple inscription, Rajasimheshvara shrine inscription, Panamalai inscription²⁰ and the Vayalur pillar inscription; (5) Paramesvaravarma II is also called *Mahendra* III in the Kailasanatha temple inscription; and (6) both the Parameswaravarmas have been called Paramesvarapotavarmas in the Kasakudi plates.

In the Omgodu (No. 1) plates of Vijaya-Skandavarma *alias* Skandavarma II, it is said their great-grandfather Kumaravishnu performed the *Asvamedha* sacrifice. No other king between Kumaravishnu and Paramesvaravarma II is known to have performed an *Asvamedha*, nor is there any evidence of any predecessors of Kumaravishnu having performed it.²¹ But in the Prakrit Hirahadagalli plates²² issued

17 S. I. I. (II. p. 340) 18 Ibid (I. p. 12)

19 Ibid (I. p. 22) 20 M. E. R. 1916 (p. 114)

21 From such expressions as 'यथावदाहताश्वमेधानां पल्लवानाम्' of the Uruva-palli plates (I. A. V. p. 50) of Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa, or 'सम्राजामश्वमेधाव श्रुथविरजसां भूभुजां पल्लवानाम्' of the Panamalai inscription of Rajasimha (M. A. R. 1916, p. 114; Q. J. M. S. XIII. 2. p. 575) & c, it would naturally look as if every one of their predecessors had performed the *Asvamedha*, but it is never so; for that and similar other great sacrifices have been from time immemorial looked upon as conferring lasting merit not only upon the immediate doer, but also upon all his past and future generations, and these expressions therefore are a

from Kanchi (Conjeevaram), the donor, king Sivaskandavarma claims to have performed several different sacrifices including the *Asvamedha*. It is therefore certain that Kumaravishnu and Sivaskandavarma are but two different names of one and the same king, who performed the *Asvamedha*. Next, there is another Prakrit charter known as the Mayidavolu plates,²³ which was also issued from Kanchi by the crown-prince (Yuvamaharaja) Sivaskandavarma in the 10th year of the reign of his father, whose name has not been mentioned. Now from the 3 fragments B. C. and D of the Vayalur pillar inscription, we have the following:—

B.	C.	D.
Kalabhartri		
Chuta-Pallava		
Virakurcha	Virakurcha	
	Skandavarma	Skandavarma
	Kumaravishnu	Kumaravishnu
	Buddhavarma	Buddhavarma

Whence it is evident that Kumaravishnu was the grandson of Virakurcha. This Kumaravishnu therefore must be the grantor of the Darsi plates which were issued by the grandson of Virakurcha. Now the Darsi plates are in Sanskrit, wherefore it goes without saying that the transition, from the use of Prakrit to that of Sanskrit in the Pallava inscriptions, had already set in the reign of Kumaravishnu *alias* Sivaskandavarma, whose Hirahadagalli plates issued in his 8th regnal year are, as we have seen, a Prakrit charter. It therefore stands to reason that the Mayidavolu plates,^f which are a Prakrit charter, cannot be assigned to any date later than that of Kumaravishnu, and as the grantor thereof the crown-prince Sivaskandavarma bears the same name as the donor king Sivaskandavarma of the Hirahadagalli plates, they may be correctly identified with each other as one and the same person, when it would be seen that he

means of claiming that merit before the world for all the posterity of the original performer of those sacrifices, wherefore (it may be noted) all these expressions are in the plural. Similar expressions are also found in the early Kadamba records, e. g. the Nilambur plates of Ravivarma (E. I. VIII. p 13), the Tagare plates of Bhogivarma (M. A. R. 1918; p. 35), the Shimoga plates of Mandhata Raja (Ibid. 1911; p. 32) &c.

²² E. I. (I. p. 2)

²³ Ibid (VI. pp. 84—89)

²⁴ Ibid (I. p. 397)

issued the former while he was yet a crown-prince, and the latter, dated in his 8th regnal year, after he had already become king.

Now, from the 3 pedigrees obtained from the fragments B. C. and D of the Vayalur inscription, we can readily draw up this consolidated geneology of those early Pallavas:—

Kalabhartri
|
Chuta-Pallava
|
Virakurcha
|
Skandavarma
|
Kumaravishnu
|
Buddhavarma

The same six regular steps in the early Pallava succession are thus given without any break in the Velurpalaiyam plates:—

Kalabhartri
|
Chuta-Pallava
|
Virakurcha
|
Skandasishya
|
Kumaravishnu
|
Buddhavarma

Comparing these 2 pedigrees, we can easily and correctly identify Skandavarma of the former inscription with Skandasishya of the latter.

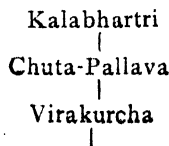
The Chendalur plates²⁵ carry this geneology a step further:—

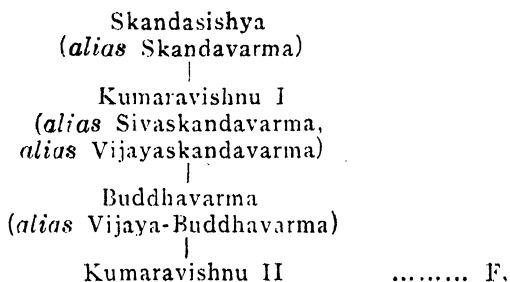
Skandavarma
|
Kumaravishnu I
|
Buddhavarma
|
Kumaravishnu II

So, with the addition of the last name of Kumaravishnu II of these plates, the early geneology from Kalabhartri would stand thus:—



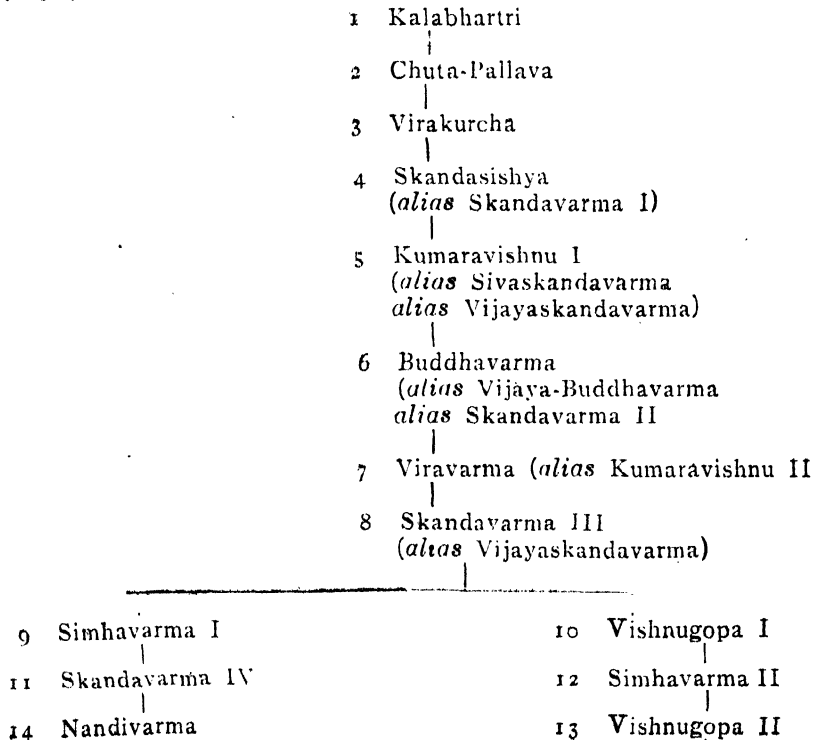
Thus, it is evident that Kumaravishnu I, who as we have seen, is identical with Sivaskandavarma of the Mayidavolu as well as the Hirahadagalli plates, was the father of Buddhavarma. But from the British Museum Prakrit plates,²⁶ which give Vijaya-Skandavarma and his son Yuvamaharaja Vijaya-Buddhavarma, we are informed that Vijaya-Buddhavarma was the son of the then reigning king Vijaya-Skandavarma, and this grant was issued by Charudevi, the wife of that crown-prince. We have already seen that *Siva*, *Vijaya* and *Vijaya-Siva* were used as mere honorific prefixes added to the personal names of the kings, and as such the same king would be known as Sivaskandavarma, Vijayaskandavarma and Vijayasivaskandavarma without his identity being impaired in the least. We have also seen that in the composition of the Pallava inscriptions Prakrit was replaced by Sanskrit in the reign of Kumaravishnu *alias* (Sivaskandavarma), wherefore the British Museum Prakrit plates must have been issued in the reign of Kumaravishnu, and *a priori* Vijaya-Skandavarma of those plates is identical with Sivaskandavarma of the Hirahadagalli plates, *i. e.* with Kumaravishnu, and Vijaya-Buddhavarma is the same as Buddhavarma of the Chendalur and the Velurpalaiyam plates, and of the Vayalur pillar inscription. Consequently, this earlier part of the Pallava Genealogy would now stand thus: -





Comparing the last 3 steps of this table F with the first 3 steps of the previous table E, we find that Buddhavarma of this table is identical with Skandavarma I of that table, and also that Kumaravishnu II of this table is identical with Viravarma of that, and further that the connecting link between these two tables is Vijaya-Skandavarma *alias* Skandavarma II, whose name stands fourth in that table, and who therefore becomes Skandavarma III.

Consolidating both of these tables E and F, we get the final Geneology of the Pallavas from Kalabhartri to Paramesvaravarma II, as follows :—



- 15 Simhavarma III
- 16 Simhavishnu
- 17 Mahendravarma I
- 18 Naraśimhavarma I
- 19 Mahendravarma II
- 20 Paramesvaravarma I
- 21 Narasimhavarma II
- 22 Paramesvaravarma II
(*alias* Mahendravarma III)

There is a short inscription of a single verse engraved on one of the pillars of a cave on the Melaicheri hill, which is dedicated to God Siva under the name of Sikhari Pallavesvara; and it runs thus -

कारितमिदं नृपतिना चन्द्रादित्येन सार्वभौमेन।

श्री शिखरिपल्लवेश्वरमिति शैवं धाम सिंहपुरे ॥²⁷

This inscription is said to be engraved in a script dating between the reigns of Mahendra I and Rajasimha (*i. e.* Narasimhavarma II), and from the fact that the temple is called 'Sikhari *Pallavesvara*', it is conclusive that Chandraditya must be a Pallava king, nay an Emperor as he calls himself सार्वभौम. He seems to be Narasimhavarma I, for the place has been called 'Simhapura' perhaps after his own name, and also because he is said to have conquered his contemporary Chalukya king, who was himself a very great king, and taken his capital Vatapi (Badami), as stated in the Kurma plates of his grandson Paramesvaravarma I. In that case Chandraditya would be an *alter nomen* of Narasimhavarma I.

There are two more Pallava names, the positions of the bearers of which in the Pallava genealogy still remain to be determined; viz. (1) Chandadanda, whom the Kadamba king Ravivarma claims to have overturned²⁸ and (2) Santivara, who is said to have crowned the Kadamba king Vishnuvarma, as stated in the latter's Hebbata plates.²⁹ The dates as well as the positions of these 2 Pallava kings will be duly discussed in our next article on the Early Kadamba Chronology.

27 M. A. R. 1916 (p. 114); Q. J. M. S. (XIII. 2. p. 574)

28 I. A. (VI. p. 29)- 'उत्साद्य काञ्चीश्वर चण्डदण्डम् ।'

29 M. A. R. 1925 (p. 98)- 'शान्तिवर महाराज पल्लवेन्द्रभिषिक्तेन श्री विष्णुवर्म महाराजेन.'

It is believed that the Anaji stone inscription³⁰ reveals a new and unknown Pallava name, that of Nanakkasa Pallava; but what in fact it reveals is no Pallava name, nor for that matter any proper name at all, but merely a pure and simple meslection (due to a wrong grouping of letters in the line)—‘शिवनन्दवर्मा स्वदेश क्षयेनणकास पल्लवराज कृष्णवर्म राजयोः समरे तुमुलिने (?) प्रवृत्ते कृष्णवर्मराजसैन्ये भग्ने’, which has been consequently wrongly translated as—‘Sivanandavarma, in the ruin of his country, Krishnavarma Raja’s army being overcome in the tumultuous battle which took place between Nanakkasa Pallava Raja and Krishnavarma Raja’; whereas the undoubtedly correct reading is—

‘.....स्वदेशक्षयेन निष्कासितः पल्लवराज कृष्णराजयोः &c.’

which means ‘Sivanandavarma having lost his country and having been exiled (thence) &c’, (for the word ‘निष्कासित’ means ‘exiled’, ‘driven out’ &c), as we shall see in our Kadamba article where we shall discuss this inscription. It is thus the last letter ‘न’ (of the instrumental singular स्वदेशक्षयेन) and first three letters of the passive past participle ‘निष्कासित’ that have brought forth a new Pallava name. This inscription therefore discloses no new Pallava name, but only refers to a decisive battle that was fought between an *unnamed* Pallava king and the Kadamba king Krishnavarma, which caused the exile of Sivanandavarma and broke his heart as is clearly expressed in it. Nanakkasa Pallava therefore may be dismissed forthwith as absolutely non-existent.

Pallava Chronology

The chronological facts so far accessible to us with regard to some of these kings are—

(1) In the Penukonda plates,³¹ a Pallava king Simhavarma is said to have installed the Ganga king Ayyavarma on the Ganga throne; and in our article on the Chronology of the early Gangas³² we have seen that Ayyavarma is the same as Harivarma, whose Tanjore and Tagadur plates are respectively dated in 313 A. C. and 314 A. C., and there we have also assigned his regnal period to 309—40 A.C. Therefore this Simhavarma must have been on the Pallava throne from before 309 A. C.

(2) In the same plates, it is further said that a Pallava king Skāndavarma installed the grantor Ganga king Madhavavarma (*alias* Simhavarma) i. e. Madhava II on the Ganga throne, and we have said in that article that the said act must have been just over before the 17th March 349 A. C., which we have found out to be the date of

30 E. C. (XI. D I. 161); Ibid (Int. p. 6); M. C. I. (p. 24)

31 E. I. (XII. p. 335)

32 K. H. R. (II, 1.)

those plates. This Skandavarma therefore must have commenced to rule sometime before 349 A. C.

(3) In the Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription,³³ One Vishnugopa, King of Kanchi (wherefore a Pallava king) has been mentioned among the kings he conquered in his South Indian campaign. From the 'New Mathura inscription' of Samudragupta's son and successor Chandragupta II, which is dated in Gupta Samvat (G. S.) 61, and the first regnal year of Chandragupta II, it is obvious that Samudragupta must have died in G. S. 60 or 61 i. e. 332-333 A. C. according to our date 272-273 A. C. for the epoch of the Gupta era.³⁴ Samudragupta's South Indian expedition may therefore be located in circa 320-322 A. C., when his Pallava contemporary Vishnugopa must have already been ruling.

(4) An eclipse has been mentioned in the Omgodu (No. 2) plates³⁵ of Simhavarma II, the son of Vishnugopa I, which are dated in his 4th regnal year on the 5th lunar day of the bright fortnight of *Vaisakha*, wherefore the said eclipse must be a solar eclipse which occurred on the just previous newmoon day of *Chaitra*, i. e. just 5 days prior to the actual date of that grant.

(5) In the copyist's colophon of a Jaina work called '*Lokavibhaga*', there occurs the verse:—³⁶

संवत्सरे तु द्वाविंशे काञ्चीशे सिंहवर्मणः।
अशीत्ये शकाब्दानां सिद्धमेतच्छतत्रये॥

according to which, his work seems to have been finished in S. S. (Saka Samvat) 380 i. e. 458—459 A. C. (*vide* appendix A.), which was also the 22nd regnal year of Simhavarma, king of Kanchi and therefore a Pallava king. This Simhavarma then must have begun to rule in 437 A. C.

(6) In the '*Avantisundari Katha*'³⁷ the poet Damodara is said to have repaired from the court of the Ganga king Durvinita to that of (the Pallava) king Simhavishnu at Kanchi, wherefore those two kings ought to be contemporaries. In our article on the early Ganga Chronology, we have found out that the Ganga king Durvinita came to the throne in 478 A. C. and was still ruling in 518 A. C. This contemporaneity seems to be confirmed by the Humcha stone inscription,³⁸ which states that when a certain Kaduvetti (i. e. Pallava) king, who was as another Ravana on the earth, thwarted the accession of Jayasimha Vallabha to the Chalukya throne, the Ganga king Durvinita, who was the maternal grandfather of Jayasimha, defeated that Pallava and installed his grandson Jayasimha on the throne of his family. As the comparison with the mythological

³³ F. G. I. (No. 1.) ³⁴ J. I. H. (XI. 2) ³⁵ M. E. R. 1916 (p. 114)

³⁶ M. A. R. 1910 (p. 46) ³⁷ *Avantisundari Kathasara* (I. pp. 2-3)

³⁸ E. C. (VII. Nr. 35)

world-victor Ravana is quite appropriate in the case of Simhavishnu, who is extolled in the Kasakudi plates as the conqueror of the Malaya, Kalabhra, Malava, Chola, Pandya, Simhala and Kerala kings, and who moreover in the Velurpalaiyam plates has been mentioned with the significant epithet— the *victorious* Simhavishnu, this event has been assigned to circa 500 A. C. in our Ganga article, and Simhavishnu therefore would be already on the throne in 500 A. C.

(7) In the Kurma plates³⁹ of Paramesvaravarma I, it is said that his grandfather Narasimhavarma I defeated the Chalukya king Pulikesi in several battles writing the word 'victory' on his back, and took the Chalukya capital 'Vatapi' (Badami), and destroyed it; and in the Velurpalaiyam plates also Narasimhavarma I is called the conqueror of Vatapi. Narasimhavarma I and Pulikesi therefore would no doubt be contemporaries; but which of the *two* Pulikesis was the contemporary of Narasimhavarma I is still an open question, though all the scholars seem to have been agreed that the Pulikesi defeated by Narasimhavarma I is the second of that name i. e. Pulikesi II.

(8) In the Kuram plates again the grantor king Paramesvaravarma I claims to have made Vikramaditya, whose army consisted of several thousands, take to flight covered merely by a rag, which is confirmed by the Velurpalaiyam plates, in which this Paramesvaravarma I is said to be the destroyer of the Chalukya forces. This Vikramaditya is no doubt the Chalukya king Vikramaditya I, who was the son and successor of Pulikesi II. He came to the throne in 652 A. C. (*Vide* Appendix B) and ruled until 682 or 683⁴⁰ A. C. when he was succeeded by his son Vinayaditya. Thus, then, Paramesvaravarma I and Vikramaditya I were contemporaries.

(To be continued.)

³⁹ S. I. I. (I. pp, 144—55)

⁴⁰ The Lakshmeswara stone inscription (F. K. D. p. 368) is dated S. S. 609 on the full-moon day of *Magha* in the 5th regnal year of Vinayaditya, which is 2nd February 687 A. C. on which there was a lunar eclipse though not mentioned in that grant; and the Sorab plates of Alupa Chitravaha (E. C. VIII. Sb. 571) are dated S. S. 614 on Saturday the day of Summer solstice in the 11th regnal year of Vinayaditya, which is 22nd June 692 A. C. Vinayaditya, therefore, must have begun to rule in 682 or 683 A. C.

MR. VANSITTART'S MISSION TO MIR QASIM, 1762.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI.

It was after removing his seat of government to Monghyr that the Nawab seriously turned his attention to the subject of the private inland trade of the Company's servants, and began making almost daily complaints¹ about the right of the latter to trade duty-free. Up till now the Nawab had not made his protests so vehemently, but his tone appears to have undergone a perceptible change after the transference of his headquarters from Murshidabad to Monghyr. In fact, he had, and—this is usually overlooked,—determined not to allow the private trade of the English merchants on any footing whatsoever. That he took definite steps to stop this trade is clear from the following facts:—

(i) Not long after the Nawab's arrival at Monghyr, his officers in the various districts began, ostensibly under the Nawab's orders, to stop the boats belonging to the English merchants inspite of their being 'dastaks' with them. This harassment was reported to be due to the Nawab's demand of duties even from the Company's servants. The Chief and Council at Dacca wrote in their letter dated October 8, 1762: "At every Chokey our boats are stopped, the people insulted, and the flag used with the utmost and most gross contempt."² The Chief and Council at Chittagong similarly wrote in their letter, dated October 14, 1762, "Our business is entirely put to a stop to, by the Nabob's people, and our boats not suffered to pass the Chokeys, the zamindars demanding very considerable duties to be paid them, declaring that they have orders from Cossim Allee Cawn so to do."³ The Chiefs and Council at Lakhipur made⁴ the very same complaint in the following words: "Within these few days, every boat which we have sent out of the river has been stopped at the different Chokeys, notwithstanding they have the Chiefs' 'dustuck' ". In short, such complaints were received from every district. The Faujdar of Katwa was at this time reported to have stopped 150 boats belonging to the English gentlemen, notwithstanding that these bore the Company's 'dastak'.⁵ All these,

1 Vansittart's Narrative, II, p. 97. 2 Beng. Pub. Cons. Oct. 18, 1763.

3 Ben. Pub. Cons. Nov. 1, 1763. 4 Ibid.

5 Trans. P. L. I. 1762 Nos. 130, 131 & 133 (p. 25 and pp. 69—70)

therefore, clearly indicate the Nawab's settled policy to put a stop to the duty-free trade of the Company's servants.

(ii) Not only were the boats stopped for the exaction of duties, but all sorts of obstruction to the Company's trade came to be reported.⁶ Ellis complained of the interference of the local Amil with the weavers and bleachers in their business at Jahanabad.⁷ The Chiefs of Dacca, Lakhipur, and Chittagong also drew the attention of the Council at Calcutta to the unprecedented ill-treatment of their subordinates, and Mr. Vansittart formally protested against it to the Naib, and the Faujdar of Dacca more than once.⁸ The Chief and Council at Dacca further represented⁹ in their letter, dated October 8, 1862, "... Muchalcas have been taken from many inhabitants, prohibiting them on no account to have any connections with the English." This statement is borne out by the author of the Muzaffar-Namah, who too states¹⁰ that the Nawab's 'ziladars' were instructed to direct the 'ryots' not to have any dealings with the English. The Nawab must have supposed that by this means he would be able to hamper the private trade of the English, and force them ultimately to pay the regular duties.

(iii) The practice of the Company's servants to issue 'dastaks' indiscriminately was galling to the Nawab, and he wanted to get it abolished. Early in August, 1762, he wrote to the Governor complaining that too many people had begun issuing 'dastaks'¹¹ whereupon the Governor informed him,¹² on September 3, that the gentlemen who had been authorised to issue 'dastaks' were Mr. Batson of Cossimbazar, Mr. Cartier of Decca, Mr. Billiers of Lakhipur, Mr. Verelst of Islamabad, Mr. Ellis of Patna, and Mr. Gray of Malda. It was just this information which the Nawab needed, because he was bent upon putting down the circulation of the dastaks issued by all other English merchants.¹³

(iv) That the Nawab suddenly multiplied the number of customs—stations in the country is a significant step. They were not only to be a source of additional income to the Government, but were specially intended to be an effective impediment to the private trade of the

⁶ Third Report, 1773. pp. 335—36.

⁷ Beng. Pub. Cons. Oct. 18, 1762, Trans. P. L. I. 1762. No. 141 p. 75.

⁸ Vansittart's Narrative II, p. 127 and Trans. P. L. I. 1762, Nos. 142, 144, 145, pp. 75—77.

⁹ Beng. Pub. Cons. Oct. 18, 1762.

¹⁰ Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. Ms pp. 333)

¹¹ Abs. P. L. R. 1759—65, p. 11.

¹² Trans. P. L. I. 1762. No. 128. p. 68.

¹³ "A defence of Mr. Vansittart's conduct in concluding the treaty of commerce with Mhir Cossim Aly Chawn." By a servant of the company long resident in Bengal. 1764. p. 9.

English. New stations were established in places where there had been none before, and although the Governor had earnestly requested¹⁴ the Nawab to close these new 'Chaukis' no heed seems to have been paid to it. Besides stationing additional 'Chaukis', the Nawab augmented the force at every customs station so that the English boats might be systematically stopped.¹⁵

While the Company's servants loudly protested against this deliberate and sudden obstruction to their private trade, the Nawab made equally bitter complaints against their highhandedness, and that of their 'gumashtahs'. New charges were brought against them by the Nawab, and these may be thus summarised:—

(i) The Nawab wrote¹⁶ to the Governor in May, 1762: "And this is the way your gentlemen behave; they make a disturbance all over my country, plunder the people, injure and disgrace my servants, with a resolution to expose my government to contempt; and from the borders of Hindostan to Calcutta, make it their business to expose me to scorn." It is too sweeping a charge to deserve any elaborate examination, and is a characteristic instance of the Nawab's exaggerated denunciations.

(ii) The recent increase in the number of the Company's factories was bitterly criticised by the Nawab in the following words,¹⁷ "Near four, or five hundred new factories have been established in my dominions, and it is impossible to express what disturbances are made in every factory, and how the inhabitants are oppressed". The addition of factories was due partly to the increasing volume of the private trade of the English, and the Governor in his letter¹⁸ to the Nawab, dated April 23, 1762, rightly argued that commerce had lately increased owing to greater security, and that the prosperity of the country would be still further enhanced by this increasing trade. The Nawab agreed with the Governor, and replied, "It is true that by the flourishing of trade, and the free intercourse of merchants, a country is rendered populous."¹⁹ That, in spite of this admission, he went on complaining against the increase in the number of factories was due to his innate hatred of the privileged position of the English merchants.

(iii) The rapacity of the company's 'gumashtahs' was the most serious charge. There is, however, sufficient evidence to prove that they

¹⁴ Trans. P. L. I. 1761, No. 429, p. 217

¹⁵ Beng. Pub. Cons. Nov. 1. 1762.

¹⁶ Abs. P. L. R. 1759—65, p. 13. Vansittart's Narrative, II, pp. 97-102

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Trans. P. L. I. 1762, No. 65, p. 39.

¹⁹ Narrative, II. p. 102.

did flagrantly abuse²⁰ the authority and protection of their inexperienced, or ignorant masters. The Nawab wrote about the gumashtahs, as follows; ".....the gomastahs who have gone into the country on the part of your gentlemen, regardless of what any one says to them, insolently use violent means to carry on their traffick, and whenever a gunge, or golah has been established. they act as zemindars, taalookdars, and renters, and leave my officers no authority; and besides this, they send other people's goods with their own, under the protection of their dustucks".²¹ This allegation was substantially correct. In fact, the 'gumashtahs' were generally a set of the worst rascals whose oppressive conduct was an open scandal. Their masters usually supported them because they believed that their agents had to commit acts of violence in self-defence on account of the opposition of the Nawab's people. Assured of sympathy and assistance, the English agents practised the worst tyranny wherever they went. They forced the ryots to sell their goods below the market rate, and purchase the commodities they had brought at an exorbitant price.²² They forcibly exacted large presents from the people, and thus plundered them under this pretence. They sold dastaks to private merchants at a price,²³ and the latter thus freely evaded the payment of the duties. Sergeant Brego who had been sent²⁴ to Backergunje by the Governor to arrest the gumashtahs accused of having created disturbances wrote²⁵ on May 25, 1762, "A gentleman sends a gomastah here to buy or sell; he immediately looks upon himself as sufficient to force every inhabitant, either to buy his goods, or sell him theirs, and on refusal a flogging, or confinement immediately ensues Before, justice was given in the public cutcherree, but now every gomastah is become a judge, and every one's house a cutcherree; they even pass sentences on the zemindars themselves, and draw money from them by pretended injuries....." The Faujdar of Dacca wrote²⁶ to the Governor in September 1762, ".....the gomastahs of Luckypoor and Dacca factories oblige the merchants etc., to take tobacco, cotton, iron, and sundry other things, at a price exceeding that of the bazaar, and then extort the money from them by force; besides which they take

²⁰ Beng. Pub. Cons. 17th Jan. 1763 (vide letter from Ganga Ram Mittra to Mr. Taxeira)

Beng. Pub. Cons. 1st Feb. 1763 (vide letter from Vansittart to Johnstone, Hay, Bolts, dated Dec. 15, 1762)

²¹ Vansittart's Narrative, II, p. 102.

²² Ibid, p. 104.

²³ Verelsts "A view of English Government in Bengal" p. 8.

²⁴ Trans. P. L. I. 1762. No. 109, p. 58

²⁵ Beng. Pub. Cons. 18th Oct. 1762

²⁶ Abs. P. L. R. 1759-65, p. 32.

diet money for the peons, and make them pay a fine for breaking their agreement. By these proceedings, the aurangs and other places are ruined, The gomastahs of Luckypoor factory have taken the taalookdars' taalooks from the tahsildar by force for their own use, and will not pay the rent. By these disturbances the country is ruined, and the reiat cannot stay in their houses, nor pay the malguzarree". The Amil of Purnea similarly complained against the gumashtahs, and represented that the latter impeded the public business,²⁷ Mr. Hastings while on his way to Sasseram wrote to the Governor from Bhagalpur on April 25, 1762.²⁸ "I beg leave to lay before you a grievance which calls loudly for redress, and will, unless duly attended to, render ineffectual any endeavours to create a firm or lasting harmony between the Nawab and the Company; I mean the oppressions committed under the sanction of the English name..... This evil, I am well assured, is not confined to our dependents alone, but is practised all over the country by people falsely assuming the habits of our sepoy, or calling themselves our gomastahs." Mr. Verelst observes,²⁹ "English agents, or gomastahs, not contented with injuring the people, trampled on the authority of the government, binding and punishing the Nabob's officers, wherever they presumed to interfere". In short, it is clear that the insolent tyranny of the gumashtahs, exaggerated though it might have been, was a fact, and it was due to a number of reasons.

In the first place, they were often obliged to have recourse to violence in defence of their privileges in those distant parts of the province where the Nawab's government had not been well established,³⁰ In the second place, a number of clever merchants fraudulently posed as the company's agents in the interior of the county,³¹ and carried on their nefarious activities simply under the protection of the Company's name. In the third place, the complaints made against themselves were represented by the agents to their credulous masters as a deliberate obstruction to their business, and were therefore invariably disregarded by the latter.³² In the fourth place, they had at their disposal the armed sepoy of the factories, and thus could defy the Nawab's officials, or the subordinates of the zemindars.³³ In the fifth place, as Mr. Hastings put it, "..... the indolence of the Bengalees, or the difficulty of gaining access to those who might do them justice, prevents

27 Abs. P. L. R, 1759-65, p. 31.

28 Gleig's memoirs, I. p. 107.

29 Verelst's "A view of English government in Bengal" p. 46.

30 Mr. Vansittart himself admits this fact, (Narrative II, p. 151)

31 Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor (Narrative II. p. 80.)

32 Beng. Pub. Cons. 18th Oct. 1762.

33 Letter from the Faujdar of Dacca Abs. P. L. R. 1759-65. p. 15.

our having knowledge of the oppressions, and encourages their continuance. to the great, though unmerited scandal of our government.”³⁴ In the sixth place, it was not unusual for a young writer to be engaged in a joint trade³⁵ with these crafty gumashtahs who supplied the capital, and gave a share of the profits to their sleeping partners whose only duty was to issue dastaks. Sure of the support of their English partners who were obviously dominated by their clever agents, the latter could safely tyrannise over the ryots, and weavers, and coerce the public servants. The Nawab complained that these gumashtahs even refused to show their dastaks to his officials out of sheer arrogance.³⁶ In the seventh place, the gumashtahs had sometimes to take the law into their own hands, when the Nawab’s officials who were perfectly aware of their master’s animosity against the English merchants maliciously obstructed them in their business. Cases of such unwarranted interference by the Nawab’s officials were certainly not infrequent, and were regularly brought to the notice of the Nawab.³⁷

(iv) Another ground of complaint against the gentlemen of the factories was their practice of giving loans to the zemindars or to the “mutasaddis” of the Nawab. The latter strongly urged³⁸ the Governor to stop this practice as it impeded the work of revenue collection. The Nawab particularly criticised the attitude of the gentlemen at Dacca, who had been alleged to have obstructed the collection of revenue by sending their men to the aid of the zemindars.³⁹

(v) The next argument against the English merchants was that they had begun to rent markets, or ‘golas’, and establish new ones by force. This was true to a certain extent only, and was often due to the instigation of the gumashtahs. The Nawab particularly complained against Mr. Chevalier of Dacca who was reported to have oppressed the people by forcibly establishing new markets, factories, and ‘chaukis’.⁴⁰

(vi) Finally, the Nawab took exception to the English merchants trading in certain articles like salt, tobacco, etc., which he referred to as a breach of the Company’s firman.⁴¹ In fact, the whole of the private trade of the Company’s servants was suddenly regarded by the Nawab as an unauthorised and illegal innovation.

34 Gleigs memoirs, I. p. 108

35 “A defence of Mr. Vansittart’s conduct” p. 9.

36 Trans. P. L. R. Jan-Sept. 1763, No. 7, p. 6.

37 Vansittart’s Narrative, II, pp. 147—50, Trans. P. L. I. 1762 Nos. 144 & 142. Beng. Pub. Cens. 18th Oct. & 1st Nov. 1762

38 Abs. P. L. R. 1759—65, pp. 14—15.

39 Ibid, p. 15

40 Ibid, p. 14 and Narrative II, p. 117

41 Narrative, II, p. 142

At length, the disputes, arising out of the private trade of the English gentlemen, became so serious and frequent that a rupture between the Nawab and the Company seemed to be imminent. Complaints, and counter-complaints from the officers of the government, and the gentlemen of the factories fast multiplied. The only alternative to a war with the Nawab was a compromise which would be mutually acceptable, and a compromise could be reached only through a personal interview between the Nawab, and Mr. Vansittart. The latter therefore decided to pay a visit to the Nawab at Monghyr, and settle the points at issue amicably. He had also been lately anxious to obtain a change of air after his recent illness,⁴² and so he readily accepted the pressing invitation of the Nawab to come to Monghyr.⁴³ "I flattered myself", Mr. Vansittart writes⁴⁴, "this would prove an effectual method of re-establishing a confidence between us, putting an end to the disputes, which had arisen, and providing a plan for the security of the provinces against foreign enemies." With Mr. Hastings as his assistant, he set out from Calcutta on the 20th October, and after staying for a few days at Murshidabad, he arrived at Monghyr on the 30th of November, 1762.⁴⁵ The Governor was accorded a magnificent reception by the Nawab who went to receive his honoured guests at the garden of Goderrgatta (about six miles from Monghyr), and with the utmost honour escorted them to the town, where a splendid building on the hill of Sita-kund, and a number of fine tents were set apart for their residence.⁴⁶ Then followed ceremonial visits, and grand entertainments almost every day. The Nawab offered costly presents to his guest who too complimented the former with some rich presents that he had brought with him.⁴⁷ The festivities organised in honour of the guest were on a sumptuous scale, and Mr. Vansittart and his party were treated "with all the usual marks of respect and friendship". The principal topic of conversation was the Nawab's complaints against the alleged ill-treatment that he had received from Mr. Ellis and others. The Nawab next complained of the abuses of the private trade of the English gentlemen.⁴⁹ The points specially stressed by him were as follows:—

⁴² Narrative, II, p. 130

⁴³ The Nawab had sent his invitation early in June, but Mr. Vansittart had to postpone his departure. Trans. P. L. I. 1762, No. 99, p. 54

⁴⁴ Narrative, II, p. 130

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 144.

"Thursday of Zamadiul Awwal 1176" according to Siyar, (Lucknow Text p. 715). "Fifth of Zamadiul Awwal according to Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S. V. p. 606)

⁴⁶ Siyar, p. 716

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ Ibid and Narrative II, P. 141

⁴⁹ Narrative II, pp. 142—144; Siyar, p. 716; Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S. V p. 607) Muzaffar Namah (Alld. Univ. MS) p. 336; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Alld. Univ. MS) p. 780; Vansittart's "Letter to the Proprietors of East India Stock" p. 80 Verelst's "A view of English Government in Bengal" p. 37

(1) The private trade of the Company's servants was not covered by the Firmans of the Company;

(2) His administration was adversely affected by this trade owing to difficulty in maintaining law and order in the country;

(3) He was suffering a heavy loss in his custom duties;

(4) Under the protection of the Company's name, innumerable persons passed their goods duty-free;

(5) The prestige of his government suffered on account of the irregularities of this trade;

(6) The Company's gumashtahs, and servants oppressed the people; and

(7) The gentlemen of the factories held farms, 'taalluqs', 'ganj's, and 'golas', borrowed from and lent to his people, afforded protection to his dependents; coined money at different places, and used force in the purchase and sale of goods.

Mr. Vansittart's position was very delicate. He did not like to offend his friend, and he had avowedly come to bring about a compromise. The Nawab, however, demanded the total abolition of the private trade of the English gentlemen, but this the Governor had no authority to assent to without the concurrence of the Council.⁵⁰ "Although I was of the same opinion", Mr. Vansittart writes,⁵¹ with the Nawab as to the rights of the firman, that they could not be construed to extend further than the trade in articles imported by shipping, and the manufactures and products of the country for exportation, yet I was unwilling to give up an advantage which had been enjoyed by the Company's servants in a greater, or less degree for five, or six years; and therefore told the Nawab that as to the inland trade, or the trade from place to place in the country, in the articles of the produce of the country we meant only to carry it on upon the same footing with other merchants." Obviously the Governor played into the hands of the Nawab in yielding on the point of the duties, and agreeing to surrender the right of the Company's servants to trade duty-free. That he wanted to placate the stubborn Nawab is easy to understand,⁵² and the reasons why he thought himself justified⁵³ in acquiescing in the settlement regarding the payment of duties can be gleaned from his "Narrative";—

⁵⁰ Narrative, II, p. 143.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Letter from Vansittart to Council, Dec. 15, 1762 (Third report, 1773 app. 32, pp. 340—41)

⁵³ "A Defence of Mr. Vansittart's Conduct" p 151

(i) "We agree with the Nawab in opinion that the true intent and natural meaning of the firman granted to the Company was to give to them, and their servants a free trade, clear of all customs, in all articles of commerce, to be imported, or exported by shipping:54

(ii) "It is a fact that the Nabobs of these provinces did formerly restrain the Europeans55 from carrying on this trade upon any footing....."

(iii) "We think it would be unreasonable to desire to carry on the inland trade upon any other footing than that of the merchants of the country....."56

(iv) "..... I thought I was doing a great service to the English merchants by establishing a right to a trade which had always before been disputed... .."57

(v) "..... I agreed with the Nabob that the rate of duties should be nine percent on the prime cost I found this to be below the rate already paid at Luckypoor....."58

Mr. Vansittart went to the length of agreeing59 to all the other proposals of the Nawab:—

(1) The Chiefs of the factories should be instructed not to oppress the ryots, and protect his dependents;

(2) The Faujdars should be permitted to try any offending gumashtahs;

(3) The Chiefs of Chittagong and Lakhipur must not work the salt-pans themselves;

(4) The Chiefs and gumashtahs of the factories should not rent, or purchase any lands, nor lend to and borrow from the zemindars, and officers of the government;

(5) The Chiefs and gumashtahs should not obstruct the 'dallals' and weavers of the government;

(6) The bullion of the English gentlemen and gumashtahs should not be coined in the Patna, the Murshidabad, and the Dacca mints, and payment of the usual 'battah' according to the market rate should be made to the money-changers; and

54 Narrative, II, p. 151 55 Ibid, p. 153

56 Narrative, II, p. 159

57 " " p. 162

58 " " p. 163

59 Beng. Pub. Cons. 17th Jan. 1762; Trans. P. L. R. Jan. Sept. No. 1 pp.1-3

(7) The gumashtahs at Gwalparah should not deal directly with the hill-men, and must make all their purchases and sales through 'daroghah' of the 'Sarkar'.

In due course, Mr. Vansittart proposed⁶⁰ a number of regulations for settling the manner of carrying on the inland trade upon a satisfactory footing, and these were accepted by the Nawab after a show of reluctance. These regulations can be thus summed up:—

1st. Only the export, or import trade of the company shall be duty-free.

2nd. For the inland trade, the Company's dastak shall not be granted.

3rd. Duties should be paid according to the fixed rate on all goods meant for the inland trade.

4th. Duties shall be paid only once before the despatch of goods

5th. These goods shall not be detained after the dastak has been examined by the 'Chaukidars'.

6th. Notice shall be given to the nearest English factory as well as to the nearest officer of the government in case one attempts to pass goods without a dastak, or fraudulently use the Company's dastak, and the goods shall be confiscated.

7th. If any body attempts to pass goods without dastak, under the care of other boats having a dastak, it shall be seized.

8th. The gumashtahs shall not use force in buying or selling, and shall bring all their complaints to the Faujdars instead of taking the law into their own hands.

9th. The Faujdars shall transmit to the Nawab copies of their proceedings, and the Governor shall be free to apply to the Nawab for redress in case any Faujdar is found guilty of partiality, or oppression.

Mr. Vansittart's attempt to regulate the inland trade according to the above plan was certainly well-meaning, and logical, but his policy is open to grave objections. Firstly, he showed great imprudence in divulging his plan to the Nawab before discussing it in the Council. It is strange that he did not anticipate the natural opposition of his colleagues against his proposals. Secondly, he was mistaken⁶¹ in believing

⁶⁰ Narrative, II, pp. 155–159; Trans. P. L. I. 1762–3, No. 4. p. 9

Beng. Pub. Cons. Dec. 27, 1762

„ „ „ Jan. 20, 1763

⁶¹ Beng. Pul. Cons. Nov. 15, 1762. The Council in their letter to the Governor may be said to have only vaguely requested him to settle "these matters upon a solid plan".

that he had been fully authorised to make even fundamental changes on behalf of the Council. Thirdly, he should not have assured the Nawab that the proposed regulations would certainly be established. The promise⁶² made by him to the Nawab was both hasty and tactless. Fourthly, he unwisely acquiesced in the Nawab's desire to control the gumashtahs and other subordinates of the country through his Faujdars. He should have realised that it was too dangerous a concession to be tolerated by his colleagues. Fifthly, he was unjustified in yielding to the Nawab's objections in regard to the coinage of the Company's 'siccās' at the different mints, the manufacture of salt, the holding of markets, the purchase of lands, the trade in Assam, and such other vital matters without insisting on a thorough investigation, and consultation with the gentlemen concerned.⁶³ Sixthly, he did not satisfactorily settle how the Company's trade could be distinguished from that of its servants. Undue interference of the Nawab's officers in the Company's trade was henceforth not unlikely.⁶⁴ Finally, he committed a serious blunder in accepting⁶⁵ a monetary gift from the Nawab. He thus courted the criticism that he had willingly sacrificed the rights of the Englishmen on receipt of a substantial bribe. As a matter of fact, the money that the Governor now received was the present promised by the Nawab before the revolution.

The Governor's visit to Monghyr is of interest from another point of view. He could observe at first hand the remarkable change in the whole spirit of the Nawab's government. Mir Qasim was a changed⁶⁶ man, and he was no longer submissive and conciliatory. His attitude was perceptibly dictatorial, and the Governor failed to perceive that the Nawab had been aiming at complete independence.⁶⁷ Mr. Vansittart was given an opportunity to witness a grand parade of the Nawab's troops, which the latter had purposely arranged to make an ostentatious exhibition of his military strength.⁶⁸ The new army organised under the command of Gurgin Khan extorted the admiration of the Governor.⁶⁹

62 Nasrative, II, p. 163; Siyar, p. 716; Terikh-i-muzaffari, p. 780 (MS)

63 Beng. Pub. Cons. Jan. 17, 1763, vide letter from the Chief and Council of Dacca, dated Jan. 10, 1763.

64 Interference was immediately reported from different places, and the Governor had to complain of it in his letter to the Nawab.

Trans. P. L. I. 1762—3, Nos. 7—9, pp. 10—13.

65 Select Committee Report, 1772; I (2) App. 80; Third Report, 1773, p. 311. He had received Rs 500,000 for himself, and Rs 200,000 for Caillaud. (First Report, Vol. III, p. 168. Caillaud's evidence)

66 Muzaffar-namah (MS) p. 336

67 Ibid and Bolts, "Considerations on Indian Affairs" p. 42.

68 Siyar, p. 716 69 Khulasat (J. B. O. R. S- V. p. 607)

The whole force of the Nawab at present consisted of about sixteen thousand horse, and a few battalions of Sepoys.⁷⁰ Ghulam Husain has left a vivid description of the parade, and the Governor's views regarding the troops. According to him,⁷¹ the Governor expressed his opinion about the army in the following terms:—"I have seen your troops, and acknowledge that you have accoutred and disciplined them very well; but these are only good against Indians, and people of this climate. Beware of ever opposing them to Europeans, or of coming to a rupture with the English, upon a confidence reposed in your people; for, rest assured that you shall find yourself disappointed, and that these men will never stand the brunt of European soldiers. Beware, therefore, of trusting your honour to such hands." Kalyan Singh too has given a similar account.⁷² Did Mr. Vansittart suspect that these troops might be used against the English?⁷³

Before returning to Calcutta, the Governor went to Patna where he arrived on 1st January, 1763. Here he had to decide among other things two outstanding questions regarding the Burbunna gate, and the Colonelganji. The Burbunna gate in the north-west quarter of the city had been closed under the orders of the Nawab, and Ellis had long complained of it; while the Colonelgunj was a market near the English factory set up apparently without any sanction either from the Nawab, or from the company, and it had so far been a continual source of dispute with the Nawab's government. The Governor complied with the wishes of the Nawab, agreed that the gate should remain shut up, and gave instructions for the abolition of the market. On January 4, he wrote to the Naib at Patna, "Agreeably to your desire, I have directed Mr. Ellis to abolish Colonelgunge, and accordingly orders have, from this day, been given to the merchants not to bring their goods there any more; as to the shutting the wicket, though there does not appear to be any great necessity for it, and the going round about will be an inconvenience to the people of the factory, nevertheless, at it is the Nabob's order, do it whenever you please, nobody will obstruct you."⁷⁴ Although, these were only minor points, yet they serve to illustrate the Governor's characteristic acquiescence in whatever the Nawab insisted upon. In yielding to the Nawab's wishes, the Governor took hardly any

70 Narrative, II, p. 185

71 Siyar, (English Translation, Calcutta Reprint, II, p. 44) Vide also Tarikh-i-muzaffari MS, p. 779

72 Khulasat (J. B. O. R. S. V. p. 607)

73 Although the Siyar seems to suggest thus, Mr. Vansittart does not say anything about it in his Narrative.

74 Trans. P. L. I. 1762—3, No. 2, p. 4

serious notice at all of the objections of Ellis. In fact, there were a number of cogent arguments⁷⁵ against the shutting of the gate:—

(i) The servants of the factory were put to needless inconvenience, and were deprived of an easy access to the city;

(ii) The Nawab's plea that the gate must be closed in the interest of good order in the city was hollow, and there was no reason why it should be shut up even in the day time;

(iii) The gate had been kept open for more than twenty years past, and there was no immediate necessity for closing it now; besides, it was of no advantage to the Nawab himself;

(iv) The Gate had been used by the people of the factory for a long time past, and it was by this way that they could easily come to the city for its assistance at the time of the Shahazadha's attack;

(v) The closing of the gate created a false alarm, and it was rumoured that there no longer existed any friendship between the Nawab and the Company.

(vi) Unless the Nawab meant to strengthen the town against the factory itself, there was no point in his safeguarding that part of the town which was closest to the factory;

(vii) The closing of the gate could be of no use for the security of the town against a foreign enemy;

(viii) The Nawab's action in closing the gate, and ordering the intrenchment by the river was due more to pique against Ellis than to any other reason, and finally,

(ix) The prestige of the Company had suffered owing to the shutting up of the gate, as the Nawab's action seemed to be clearly indicative of his distrust of the English.

The market too being close to the factory had been very useful to its people, and its abolition would cause real difficulty in the regular and cheap supply of provisions.⁷⁶ The Governor, therefore, requested the Naib to allow Ellis to build some 'golas' for storing 20,000 maunds of grain for the use of the factory.⁷⁷ The Naib was, however, subsequently reported to have stopped all boats going to, and coming from Colonelganj under the instructions of the Nawab, and the Governor had to protest against this.⁷⁸ Ellis further complained, "The encouragement given to Nodit Roy on this occasion has induced him to seize, and carry away by force all the dealers of this gunge, to detain boats loaded with

⁷⁵ Beng. Pub. Cons. 17th Feb. 1763; Trans. P. L. I. 1762—3, No. 24, p. 25

⁷⁶ Beng. Pub. Cons. 18th Feb. 1763

⁷⁷ Trans. P. L. I. 1762—3 No. 2

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, No. 14

our own particular property having dustucks. and to send the Chief word that he will not suffer a further importation of grain. He has likewise publicly punished those boatmen who have been long employed in this service, and made proclamations through the city that whoever brings grain to the English shall be treated in the same manner.....”⁷⁹ As this was a grave charge, a strong letter was written to the Nawab on the subject.⁸⁰ The latter in his reply ridiculed the charge, and rejected it as a malicious lie concocted by Ellis.⁸¹ On the whole, it was tactless on the part of the Governor when he readily complied with the desire of the Nawab in the matter of the gate, and the market. The hostile majority in the Council forced him,⁸² subsequently to write to the Nawab asking him to order the opening of the gate, although the decision in regard to the market was unanimously approved.⁸³ The Nawab was ultimately obliged to direct the gate and the intrenchment at Patna to be opened.⁸⁴

The Governor left Patna on January 5, and stopped at Monghyr for a day to see the Nawab, and left Monghyr on the 9th for Calcutta.⁸⁵ His mission to Monghyr had been actuated by good intentions, but he failed to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the points at issue. By imprudently proposing the ill-fated regulations, and thus arousing the wrath of his colleagues whom he had not previously consulted,⁸⁶ he only hastened the inevitable rupture with the Nawab.

79 Beng. Pub. Cons. 18th Feb. 1763

80 Trans. P.L.R. 1762-3, No. 25.

81 Trans. P.L.R. January September 1763 No. 13, p. 12,

82 Beng. Pub. Cons. Feb. 19, 1763.

83 " " " "

84 Trans. P.L.R. January—September 1763 No. 19, p. 19.

85 Narrative, p. 141, and p. 187.

86 Vide Letter from Carnac to Clive, dated 26th Feb. 1763 (Malcolm's Life of Clive, II, p. 283) Carnac wrote, "These concessions are so evidently shameful and disadvantageous to us, that it is not to be conceived they could ever have been submitted to, except by persons who were brought into them....."

TEKKALI ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF PADMACHANDRADEB.

SRI LAKSHMINARAYAN HARICHANDAN JACADEB.

Near Nandigam, a village in Tekkali Taluk, flows a rivulet called 'Sandama Gadda', which never gets dry. This name of the rivulet does not go without a significance. In the 11th century A.D. Padmachandra the ruler of Bijayapur had installed an idol of the goddess 'Chandi' on the bank of this small river, which came to be known by the name "Chandinalo". The Telugus call a rivulet as "gadda" and as time passed by, this rivulet came to be known as 'Chandigadda'. Having drifted through the channel of slang terminology, this word 'chandi' lost its 'ch' sound, and in its place it acquired the 'sa' sound. Thus, the name 'Chandinalo' was replaced by 'Sandama Gadda'. This rivulet now flows at a distance of about six miles from Tekkali towards the east.

Not far from it is a small hillock near Nandigam close to which is a pond, "Sitaghahi" by name. In this hillock is a beautiful den in which there is a rock inscription denoting the installation of the idol of Chandi. Being inscribed inside the den, the inscription remains unaffected by sun and rain. It runs, through three lines of Sanskrit, as follows:—

१. रामचण्डो २. प्रतिष्ठा ३. पद्मचन्द्रस्य^१

The meaning of which is "Padmachandra had installed Ramachandi",

This inscription by no means enable us to get at a full knowledge of Padmachandra except that he might have been a Raja or Rajkumar because such deeds are generally done by Rajahs.

Another stone inscription from that hill has now been unfolded with great effort. This inscription has been inscribed in five lines of Sanskrit, just above the gate way of the aforesaid beautiful den. Owing to the damage caused by sun and rain, it is not easy to notice the existence of it. The reading of the inscription is reproduced below:—

१ ॐ श्रीदेवेन्द्रवर्म । २ स्य राज्ये सैवो च^२ तीर्थे

३ विजयपद्मचन्द्रस्य प्रतिष्ठा । ४ ^३जैष्ठमासि कृष्णपञ्चमीसम्बत्सरे २३

५ (शकाब्द) १०१२

Translation:—

"On the fifth day of the new moon of the month of 'Jyēṣṭhā' of Śaka 1012, Padmachandra Deb, the Ruler of Bijayapur has installed, in the 23rd year of his rule, at 'Sanyasatirtha' which is in the kingdom of Sri Devendravarma".

From this it is inferred that in Śaka 1012 or 1090 A. D., Padmachandra Dev, the ruler of Bijayapur and the accomplisher of this stone inscription, was the *Sāmānta* Raja of Maharaja Devendravarma. It remains to be determined now as to, who this Devendravarma was.

The name of Devendravarma is noticed in one of the inscriptions available in the "Gokarneswar mandir" at the top of the Mahendra hill.

“ जयति निजभुजाली निर्जितोर्वीपमौलि प्रणति गलितमाल्यालङ्कृति स्थानभूमिः । विमल यति यदीयं धाम लोकं समस्तं कलिमलिनितमुच्चैश्चाजि राजेन्द्रचोडः ॥

विध्वस्तं निजविक्रमेण विमलादित्यं कुलूतेश्वरम्
संग्रह्याद्रिनिभान् कलिङ्गपतिना दत्तान् वरान् वारणान् ।
भित्त्वा दण्डपतिर्जगद्विजयिनी राजेन्द्रचोलस्यसम्
स्थाप्राप्ते शिखरे व्यधत्तविजयस्तम्भं महेन्द्राचले ॥”

“Rajendrachoda, the Sovereign, who always shines with the garlands slipped from the heads of monarchs at the time of their bowing before him as a consequence of their defeat, and whose splendour sheds light on all the filthy people of 'Kaliyuga' has been victorious. It is this Rajendrachoda's subject chief, the universally triumphant great hero that destroyed 'Kuluteswar Vimaladitya' in battle, and being presented with many elephants by the ruler of Kalinga, he set up the pillar of triumph on the top of the Mahendra Hill.”

The Kalingādhpati or Ruler of Kalinga referred to in the above-mentioned inscription is no other than Devendravarma. The reason for this is clear from the big Rock Inscription of the Chola king Rajendrachoda, which is available at Draksharam in the Godavari District viz :—

“ भस्मीकृत्य कलिङ्गदेशमखिलं निर्जित्य गांगां रणे ।
भङ्क्त्वा कोशलण्डपाल निवहैर्देवेन्द्रवर्मादिकान्
वीरः पल्लवराय इत्यभिहितो राजेन्द्रचोडप्रभोः
कीर्त्युत्तम्भमिवी सन्धिषुड् जयस्तम्भं शुभं न्याक्षिपत् ॥”

The meaning of it can be rendered thus:—

“Pallava Raya, the great hero and Commander-in-chief of Rajendra chōda with the allied powers of all 'Khandapālas or Vassal Rajahs of Kosala-khanda defeated Devendravarma, the Ruler of Kalinga, bringing down the Kalinga kingdom to ashes and set up the monument of glory at the border line of "Udra Desa" ie, on the top of the Mahendra Hill.

It is discerned from the above inscription that it was inscribed in Śaka 1024 or 1102 A. D. Devendravarma who was reigning in Kalinga in 1102 A.D. was not at all a different personage from the Devendravarma of our present rock inscription of 1090 A. D.

Besides this, three Copper-plate Inscriptions of this Devendravarma have been secured. The territory of Bijayapur of Padmachandra was under the sway of the aforesaid Devendravarma. His Samanta Raja's (Padmachandra's) territory Bijayapur which might be the present village of Bejjipalli is near the above mentioned Nandigam village.

It seems that before Padmachandra's time, a sanyasi or asectic used to reside in this cave where the present rock inscription exists. Hence its name was once Sanyāsāśramam. And the tank that lies adjacent to this cave might have been called Sanyasi Thirtha. It seems probable that through slang usage of the term, 'Sanyachthirtha' took the place of 'Sanyasitirtha'.

THE REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NORTHERN SARCARS. (1769—1786)

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(Continued from page 190, Vol. VI Part 2).

Chapter II.

Anarchy and Dual Government (1759 1768.)

"For seven years the completest anarchy ever recorded in the history of Hindoostan prevailed over all the five northern Circars. The forms, nay, even the remembrances of civil government, seemed to be wholly lost. Lords became vassels, renters were called proprietors, and amildars changed condition with their inferior officers, by accepting Zemindary russooms, or yearly acknowledgments to lessen the recorded value and standing revenue of the lands."

James Grant : *Political Survey of the Northern Circars. (1784)*

The preceeding chapter has described the long series of incoherent arrangements made by the Madras Government before they assumed direct and complete responsibility for the administration of the Sarkars in 1768. This chapter will deal with the same period (1759-1768) from the purely revenue point of view. It is obvious that during a period of anarchy and want of consistently recognizable authority, the Sarkars could not have the benefits of a systematic policy of revenue administration. All that was done was the collection of the revenues of the Sarkars by means of experimental agreements with short-lived *amildars* and renters as under the Muhammadan regime. During this period of gross revenue speculation, the *amildars* and renters appointed by the Court of Hyderabad were recognised and supported by the Madras government. To bring these arrangements into clear relief, it is necessary to review the revenue administration of the French Company during the years 1750-1759.

1. Revenue Administration of the French. (1750—1759).

The French East India Company acquired the Masulipatam farms in 1750, and the Sarkars in general by the Treaty of Aurangabad in 1753. During the first few years of the French rule, the Sarkars did

not come under their complete control. Bussy was prevented from minutely investigating the revenue resources of the Sarkars, since his presence was frequently called for at Hyderabad and beyond to settle the affairs of the *Subadar* of the Dekhan. As Orme points out, it was not till 1754 that Bussy could direct his attention to a systematic subjugation of the Sarkars and even then his attempts were not attended with complete success. After his arrival at Masulipatam in July 1754, he remained in the Sarkars till the end of that year "continually employed in settling the government and often either marching in person or sending detachments to collect the revenues from the poligars or chiefs of the woodland countries, who, trusting to their wilds and fastnesses never pay but at the point of the sword".¹ The former deputies of the Hyderabad government were continued in their stations as the agents of the French Company. No drastic changes were made either in the internal administration or in the hereditary *personnel* employed for the collection of the revenues. The zamindars "were generally permitted to enjoy, under French sannads, their russooms and saverums or conditional hereditary privileges, amounting to from eight to twelve per cent of the revenues collected".² The Chicacole Sarkar was the only exception to this rule. Partly due to the want of easy reach from Masulipatam, the seat of administration, and partly owing to the extreme turbulence of numerous petty zamindars who divided this Sarkar into small principalities, each with his *sibbandi* corps, which made them semi-dependent of any authority, Chicacole easily lent itself to indirect management. Vijayarama Razu the Great was granted a major part of this Sarkar at a very low rent. Under this arrangement, the Razu paid fourteen lakhs of rupees, other rajas paid nine Lakhs and Bussy himself managed lands yielding three lakhs, thus making a total of twenty-four lakhs of annual revenue for the whole of this Sarkar.³

The truce of 1754 between the French and the English Companies did not have any effect upon the revenue policy of Bussy. He was too ambitious to reconcile himself to a position of at least nominal equality with the English Company in the Sarkars. But his attempts to restore order in the country and to realise the full benefits of its possession were curbed by persistent plots at the Court of Hyderabad. It was not till 1757 when Vijayarama Razu the Great requested his help for the reduction of Bobbili, that he could attempt a comprehensive survey of the revenue resources of the Sarkars.

1 *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, Vol I, pp. 403—404.

2 James Grant; *Political Survey of the Northern Circars*, as Appendix No. 13 to the *Fifth Report*, Firminger, Vol. III, p. 14

3 *Masulipatam to Madras*, 12 October 1792. *Milit. Cons.* 25 October, Vol. 48, p. 338—b.

A review of the revenue administration of the French in the Sarkars is severely handicapped by the paucity of revenue statistics. Apart from the broad outlines of Bussy's famous *hastobud* of 1757-58 supplied by Grant, we have no other authentic and comprehensive data dealing with the Sarkars for the whole period of French administration. But, Dupleix supplies us with some details throwing a general light on the revenue resources of Masulipatam and enabling us to understand the same under the English Company.

According to Bussy, the French Company did not receive any benefit from the grant of the Masulipatam farms during the first year of their occupation.⁴ The former *faujdars* left very little to be collected from the zamindars and renters and, in general, large balances of revenue, most of them being practically bad debts, were handed-over to him. Bussy had no occasion to draw upon the revenues of the Sarkars until 1754, when the Sarkar of Kondavidu supplied a revenue of Rs. 6,00,000 which he applied to meeting charges of the military forces in his service.⁵ The Mutapalli division capable of an annual revenue of Rs. 1,20,000 and the copper mines and salt revenues of Kondavidu estimated at a like amount, were never enjoyed by the French.⁶ The Devarakota *pargana* was the most unfortunate district before and after its acquisition by the French. Immigrants from Kondavidu who peopled this formerly rich division fled from the country immediately after the French took charge of its revenue management, and hence occasioned a serious loss to the treasury.⁷

The position of the Masulipatam revenues under the French may be stated as follows:⁸

Year.	Rupees.
1751—52	1,22,727
1752—53	3,79,251
1753—54	9,94,196
1754—55	11,77,744

4 *Memoire pour le sieur de Bussy*, p. 30.

I am indebted to Mr. H. A. Woodham of the India Office Library for kindly reading with me and translating certain passages in the memoirs of Dupleix and Bussy.

5 *Ibid* p. 53 6 *Memoire pour le sieur Dupleix*, Appendix 49. 7 *Ibid* p. 52.

8 *Ibid* pp. 35—37; 45—49; and 51—52. See also Appendix "A" to this thesis.

Figures for 1751—54 are taken from a statement supplied by M. de la Selle, Chief of Masulipatam, and countersigned by M. Moracin, (15th July 1754).

The figure for 1754 is arrived at by the addition of the estimated receipts for the second half of the year.

Those for 1755—58 are supplied by a statement signed by Moracin, but undated.

1755-56	13,52,440
1756-57	13,95,260
1757-58	14,41,208

It will be obvious from this statement that the Masulipatam revenues were drawn from a larger area at the end than at the outset of French administration. The Devarakota *pargana* was first included in the figure for 1752-53, while Kondavidu was mentioned in that for 1753-54. But a progressive increase of the revenues is perceptible in the statement. For example, the Kondavidu revenues which totalled Rs. 4,88,000 in 1753-54 practically doubled (Rs. 8,81,908) by 1757-58. This increase is partly accounted for by the fact that with the establishment of security in the country and with the acquisition of a knowledge of the capacity of the farms, the rents were naturally augmented. But it will have to be admitted that the rate of increase is extraordinary and naturally reacted on the prosperity of the renters as well as on that of the agriculturists.⁹

Bussy's fame as an administrator rests on the comprehensive revenue survey of the Sarkars which was carried out under his instructions. Our sole authority on this subject is James Grant. With his characteristic eloquence, which compels us to be cautious to accept his statements, he describes this survey in the following terms:—"At length a complete survey and *hustabud*, a detailed account of the gross collections of the whole country, infinitely more accurate and useful than the famous Doomsday Book of England was formed, and put Mr. Bussy in the knowledge of resources entirely beyond the reach of his Mussulman predecessors and greatly exceeding, perhaps, the general belief of modern financiers. ... But moderation was necessary for a recent foreign administration. The Jumma bundy or annual assessment therefore, was only doubled in Chicacole¹⁰ and Rajahmundry and brought somewhere nearer the *kham wassool* or gross receipts in other provinces. Besides which as a temporary expedient, the Zemindars were bound to maintain the public peace, defray all charges of collection, and keep on foot a sebandy corps or militia of twelve thousand infantry¹¹... All this, however, we believe to have been only the first step towards establishing a more

9 Richard Fairfield, the Chief of Masulipatam, wrote that one of the reasons which might have induced the zamindars to acquiesce in the Company's protecting hand during the *nawabship* of Hussain Ali was due to "the low state the French reduced them to". See *Masulipatam to Madras*, 12 October 1762. *Milit. Cons.* 25 October. Vol. 48 p. 336.

10 The Madras records state that he increased the Chicacole *jamabandi* by only fifty per cent. See *Milit. Cons.* 23 June 1766, Vol. 57 pp. 194-200.

11 This measure was clearly temporary. As a rule, "the French had a large force in this country and yet were often obliged to chastise the Jamidars". See *Masulipatam to Madras* 12 October. 1762. *Idem*, 25th October, Vol 48 p. 336.

adequate Jumma Kamil or standard revenue, which a future prospect of stability was to make progressive. This we believe to have been the equitable political result of Mr Bussy's scheme of finance, if he had been allowed to complete it, though the ignorant culminators of that great man, without attending to the other inexhaustive (inexhaustible) sources of private wealth, which he possessed in commending the entire ministerial influence of the Nizamut, do not give his disinterestedness all the credit due in the adjustments in the meantime concluded for the annual revenues of the Circars".¹² This tribute from the former British resident at Hyderabad could not have been undeserved, but it is regrettable that the details of such an exhaustive survey have been lost.

It is difficult exactly to estimate the actual revenue derived from the Sarkars under the French regime. There are at least five distinct estimates of the gross revenues for the period under review which demand examination. The following statement illustrates the position of the estimates.¹³

Estimates of Gross Revenues (In Rupees).

Salabat Jang ¹⁴	32,00,000
Bussy ¹⁵	20,39,832
Madras Records ¹⁶	52,37,200
James Grant ¹⁷	59,29,243
Hollingsbery ¹⁸	31,00,000

The inconsistency in these figures is easily explained. Salabat Jang's estimate naturally referred to the period preceeding Bussy's *hastobud* which admittedly enhanced the rate of revenue assessment. Bussy's own estimate left out the Guntur Sarkar. The estimate gleaned from the Madras records is not exhaustive enough and left out the Guntur Sarkar, since the Madras Government had neither the opportunity nor the necessity to enquire into its revenue resources till it was acquired in 1788, by which time the capacity of the *sarkar* had altered beyond recognition especially in view of the fact that at that time the zamindars had been partially demilitarised and paid an enhanced *jamabandi*. Hollingsbery's account is not authentic enough since it copied the traditional sum at which the Sarkars were rated in the Muhammeden accounts. On the

12 *Political Survey*. Firminger. Vol. III p. 14

13 These estimates are given in the chronological order.

14 *Salabat Jang to the King of France*, as an enclosure to *Nawab of Arcot to Madras*, received 5 July 1756, see *Country Correspondence* No. 174 for 1756. p. 89.

15 *Memoire pour le sieur de Bussy*, pp. 43-44

16 *Milit. Cons.* 13 August 1764. Vol. 51 pp. 598-605.

17 *Political Survey*. Firminger, Vol. III, pp. 51-58

18 *Nisam Alee Khaun* p. Lvii.

whole, Grant's estimate may be accepted with confidence, as it specifically relates to the revenues of the Sarkars after Bussy's revenue survey.

It should be clearly noted here that these figures represent only gross collections and include several incidental charges which we are not in a position to estimate. Notwithstanding Grant's assertions to the contrary, after the deductions of military expenses, the net revenues must have been considerably lesser than the figures given above.¹⁹ This will be clearly explained by a comparison of the revenues collected by Bussy prior to 1759 and by Hussain Ali during the year 1759--60.²⁰

Revenues in Rupees under

<i>Sarkar</i>	<i>Bussy.</i>	<i>Hussain Ali</i>
Chicacole	11,50,000	5,00,000 ²¹
Rajahmundry	16,75,200	11,44,000
Ellore	8,52,000	6,27,404
Mustafanagar	6,16,000	4,46,800
Murtizanagar	2,44,000	8,60,000 ²²
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	45,37,200	35,78,204
	<hr/>	<hr/>

Explaining the relation of these totals to each other, the Madras Council observed: "The striking difference between Nizam Ally's Deputy and Mr. Bussy (i.e. between their revenue receipts) was occasioned by the former's having no command over the powerful Jemmindars, while the latter left (sic) the countries at the head of a well-appointed army which awed them all so much that the Jemmindars of Peddapore and Pittapore paid him Madras Pagadas 3,15,000 and to Hussain Ally only Madras Pagadas 2,06,000".²³ But even when allowance has been made for the presence of military expenses, the French revenue assessment of the Sarkars seems to have been excessive.

19 Milit Cons. 13 August 1764. Vol. 51 pp. 598—605

20 I give the figures in Rupees for the sake of clearness.

21 At this period Hussain Ali never collected any revenue from the Chicacole Sarkar. I supply the figure from the Madras Government's first settlement Vijayarama Razu.

22 The estimate for the Murtizanagar Sarkar under Hussain Ali is based upon his collections from that Sarkar which he enjoyed prior to its grant to Basalat Jang.

23 Milit. Cons. 13 August 1764 Vol. 51, pp. 598—605.

There is a slight difference between the total of Bussy's revenues supplied by the Madras records here and the figure used in the preceding comparative statement.

11. Revenue Administration of the Masulipatam Farms (1759-68).

"The districts of Masulipatam from the coast of the grand division of the Circars, and .. are only portions of the maritime border dismembered for certain use from the four Southern provinces".²⁴ They constitute an area of 700 square miles and a long strip of territory about five miles in breadth extending from Motupalli in the Guntur District to Pentakota in the Vizagapatam District.²⁵

The revenue administration of the Masulipatam farms forms a distinct subject till the acquisition of the Sarkars by the East India Company by the treaties of 1766 and 1768. There are several reasons for a separate treatment of these farms. Since its capture by the French in 1750, the fort and town of Masulipatam and the farms immediately dependent thereon were grouped together and administered on an independent basis without any reference to the administration of the five major divisions generally known as the Northern Sarkars. A computation of the "Masulipatam revenues" was kept both by the French and the English Companies. Dupleix gives a clear and detailed analysis of their revenues for the period 1751-59.²⁶ These farms were specifically mentioned in the "requests" made by Col. Forde in 1759;²⁷ and were the only territories which from the first remained in the possession of the English Company as the fruits of conquest.²⁸ These were administered direct by the Chief of Masulipatam all through the period of anarchy that prevailed in the Sarkars between 1759 and 1768. "From these circumstances it is pretty evident that Masulipatam was considered as a district in itself, or, perhaps, as forming a sixth circar".²⁹ Till 1768, the revenue business of these farms was transacted in the civil department of the Madras government, while that of the Sarkars was dealt with in the Military department. Finally, the experience gained in the management of these farms was greatly responsible for the evolution of the later revenue policy of the Madras government when all the Sarkars were administered on an uniform basis. Hence, it is necessary that an account of the management of these farms should be given separately.

The Northern Sarkars had always been regarded by the Directors of the East India Company as a profitable field for investment in cotton

24 Grant's *Political Survey*. Firminger. Vol. III p. 5.

25 *Ibid.* In the Sarvasiddhi Taluk.

26 *Memoire pour le sieur Dupleix*. Appendix pp. 35-37; 45-49 and 51-52.

27 *Aitchison* Vol. ix. p. 20

28 Russell: *A Short History of the East India Company*, p. 64

29 *Ibid.*

The Sarkars primarily
prized for investment.

and printed goods. Ever since 1611 they obtained commercial privileges from the court of Hyderabad and from several individual local proprietors, and thus gradually built up an extensive trade in longcloth, calicoes, chintz and other goods for which the Sarkars are famous even to the present day. In 1755, when the Sarkars were under the complete control of the French, the Court of Directors wrote to Madras. "The Northern settlements must likewise be the constant object of your attention; they must be timely and well supplied with money, especially with copper coins, the want of which, we find, considerably impeded their investments".³⁰ Again in 1758, when the Company's fortunes in the Sarkars were at their lowest, they wrote. "The loss of the northern settlement is of so great importance to the Company that we shall depend upon you having done and continuing to do everything in your power for their recovery".³¹ But territorial acquisition was never their objective. A couple of months later they directed that "whenever those settlements were recovered or restored,³² you are to consider what will be the best method of providing the investments whether by contract with men, or by the Bengal method of Gomastahs³³ or any other which shall appear most advantageous to the Company".³⁴ They constantly discounted the actual monetary advantages of a territorial interest in the Sarkars which was sure to be attended with considerable military charges and other political complications. Even as late as 1767, by which time the Madras Government had been directly or indirectly concerned in the revenue business of the Sarkars for a period of eight years and the Company acquired at least a nominal right to the possession of the countries by the grant of Shah Alam in 1765 and by the incomplete treaty of Hyderabad in 1766, the Court of Directors wrote. "Another powerful motive for engaging the Rajah of Chicacole³⁵ in our interest, is the advantage that may thereby accrue in the extension of our investment, *an object which ought never to give place to any other*,³⁶ for it is by that means only we see any probability of realising at home any part of our territorial revenues".³⁷

³⁰ *Madras Dispatches* 13 January 1755. para 26 Vol. I. p. 362. Bouchier's government took strong measures in this respect in 1768. See *Pub. Cons* 18 July 1758, Vol. 27 p. 542

³¹ *Madras Dispatches* 12 May 1758, para 13 Vol. I. p. 921-b.

³² In 1757 the East India Company lost all its settlements in the Sarkars,

³³ Accountant-Managers.

³⁴ *Madras Dispatches* 5 July 1758, para 12 Vol. I. p. 932.

³⁵ Sitharamarazu as the *defacto* Raja of Vijayanagaram.

³⁶ The underlining is mine.

³⁷ *Madras Dispatches* 4 March 1767, para 9 Vol. III pp. 576-77.

From these repeated declarations of the Court of Directors it is evident that their chief financial interest in the Sarkars was purely commercial. The advantages of such an interest were two-fold. In the first place, capital investment in the handicrafts of the Sarkars yielded an appreciable direct profit. Secondly, it was free from any concomitant charges, like the heavy military expenses which always attended the revenue administration of territorial units during this period. The Masulipatam farms easily lent themselves to the policy advocated by the Court of Directors. A long thin strip of coast land, spanning the estuaries of at least two important rivers, the Kistna and the Godavari, besides other minor waterways, and studded with numerous ports and weaving and cloth printing centres, the "Masulipatam farms" were easily administered on a purely commercial basis. And, hence, their revenue consisted chiefly, if not totally, of land and sea customs, and salt and abkari revenues. In this connection it will be remembered that after the deduction of the expenses of revenue collection, any sums derived from the lease of purely agricultural farms which filled up the interstices between the numerous commercial and handicraft centres, supplied the wherewithal for the Company's investment.³⁸

After the capture of Masulipatam in 1759, Colonel Forde took immediate steps to lease the farms dependent on that settlement.³⁹ Not being acquainted with the revenue business of these farms, he naturally dealt with them in a summary fashion and found best to continue the previous renters in their possessions for a period of three years.⁴ Revenue figures for 1752-62 are not available; but a meagre note to the effect that the sea customs alone

Forde's
settlement.

³⁸ *Pub. Cons.* 26 December 1759. vol. 17 (pages not numbered in this place. This order was temporarily suspended on 10 July 1760. *Idem* Vol. 18 p. 852.

³⁹ *Milit. Cons.* 12 November 1759. Vol. 42, p. 683. Andrews here informs Madras that he had sent for the Zamindars with a view to settle the revenue business relating to the Masulipatam farms.

⁴⁰ *Pub. Cons.* 20 December 1759. Vol. 17.

The Public Consultations for the years 1757-1774 only contain abstracts of letters received from and sent to the various subordinate settlements. In 1774 Revenue Consultations were first instituted in which correspondence relating to revenue business was fully copied.

On the other hand, the Military Consultations for the present period are thorough and run in the actual form of correspondence.

In the Public Consultations the letters are serially numbered for each year and referred to as being entered in the "Letter Book". These 'Letter Books' are not available at the India Office.

provided a revenue of about Rs. 1,35,000 is all that can be gleaned from the Public Consultations for 1759.⁴¹

But this paucity of information is made up in another way which clearly indicates the genuine desire of the Madras government to foster the welfare of the renters and cultivators. Discussing the desirability of demanding security from renters, they resolved that they "are unanimously of opinion that the insisting on security is in the end a loss to the company as well as ruinous to the farmers, for, as the shroffs⁴² and others of substance and credit to be accepted as security will not engage themselves without large considerations and deposits in their hands; the others⁴³ because as there are but few such in the settlement, the renters cannot give so much for the farms by all the money they pay for security which it is supposed does not amount to less, all charges included, than ten per cent, besides the great difficulties they are put to for a present sum in deposit in the security's hands".⁴⁴ To obviate this hardship, the Madras government adopted the tentative policy of accepting the rents from the farmers in monthly instalments. But this arrangement was in no way an unmixed blessing. When once the necessity of supplying security for the regular payment of rent was removed, the renters not only offered ridiculous sums in order to secure the lease of the farms and realised all they could during the first few months of their tenure but also left the debit columns of the Company's accounts swelling month by month. Thus, in 1761, the Chief of Masulipatam submitted an account detailing "a desperate debt" of over five thousand rupees from a single renter Nibhanpudi Telaganna who enjoyed the lease of the Gudur farm.⁴⁵

After the expiry of Col. Forde's triennial lease in 1762, the Masulipatam farms were advertised and sealed proposals for their rent invited both at Masulipatam and at Madras.⁴⁶ Of the seven sets of proposals received,⁴⁷ the following were accepted for one year:⁴⁸

Annual
leases

41 On this settlement, the Court of Directors wrote in 1762, that they find that the Masulipatam revenues amounted to four lakhs of rupees a year and hoped that by "proper management they will produce considerably more, as we have been assured that that sum is infinitely far short of what the French made of that country". *Madras Dispatches* 27 January 1762 para 32 Vol. II pp. 396-97.

42 Broker-bankers.

43 *Pub. Cons.* 23 August 1759. Vol. 17 pp. 309-10

44 *Pub. Cons.* 23 August 1759. Vol. 17, pp. 309-10

45 *Idem.* 16 November 1761. Vol. 19. pp. 484-85.

46 *Idem.* 9 March 1762 Vol. 20 p. 154.

47 *Idem.* 23 April, *idem.* pp. 222-23.

48 *Idem.* 10 May *idem.* pp. 259-62; and 29 December, p. 572 which enumerates the rents of the last three farms.

FARM.	RENTER.	RENT IN M. PS.
Nilapalli ⁴⁹	Kandregula Jaggappa.	2,100
Bendamurlanka ⁵⁰ and towns.	Mosalikanti Venkata- ramayya.	3,050
Ghurjanapalli. ⁵¹	Madarazu Bhoganna	300
Sakhinetipalli and Rameswaram ⁵²	Bhupatirazu Jagannadha Razu.	1,550
Inuguduru. ⁵³	Madarazu Ramayya.	2,300
Tonduru and Bondada ⁵⁴	Arichunda Razu, Raja of Mugalaturru.	16,500
Tummidi and Pedana. ⁵⁵	"	8,500
Narsapur Salt. ⁵⁶	"	3,500
Nizampatam. ⁵⁷	Mir Bakhar.	23,000
Divi ⁵⁸	Madala Reddi Naik and Bhogapati Gurrazu.	
Antervedi ⁵⁹	Madala Reddi Naik and Bhogapati Gurrazu.	650
Gudur and Akula- mannadu. ⁶⁰	"	10,600
Six islands of Divi.	Mosalikanti Kamaji, Jagga Pantulu and Amaravasi Tirupati.	2,280

Nearly a decade earlier, the Court of Directors specifically directed the Madras government to prefer annual leases to long-term rents with respect to the jagir round Madras. See *Madras Dispatches* 24 January 1751 Vol. I p. 98.

The Court approved this lease in para 57 of their dispatch of 9 March 1763. See, *idem*, Vol. II. p. 635.

49 Adjacent to Yanam on the mouths of the Goutami Godavari.

50 On the northern branch of the Vasistha Godavari in the Amalapuram taluk of the East Godavari district.

51 In the W. Godavari District.

52 N. E. of the Vasistha Godavari and on the Nagaram island in the Razol taluk of the East Godavari district.

53 A *peta* or suburb of Masulipatam.

54 In the Bhimavaram taluk of the West Godavari district.

55 In the Gudivada taluk of the Kistna District.

56 In the Narsapur taluk of the West Godavari District.

57 In the Repalli taluk of the Guntur District.

58 The delta of the river Kistna in the present Divi taluk of the Kistna District.

59 A place of sacred interest to the Andhras, situated at a spot where the southern branch of the Kistna disembogues.

60 In the Bandar taluk of the Kistna district situated four miles from Masulipatam.

FARM	RENTER.	RENT IN M. PS.
Peta <i>junkan</i> and ⁶¹		
Hyderabad customs.	Mahomed Hussain.	6,000
Masulipatam and		
Pandraka salt. ⁶²	"	20,000
Narsapur town.	Bellapakuduru Kamayya.	525
Arrak farm. ⁶³	Upparapalli Ramudu.	1,250
		<hr/>
Total M. Ps.		1,12,125
		<hr/>
Do. Rs.		4,48,500
		<hr/>

It will be seen from this interesting table, which supplies the first detailed account of the Masulipatam farms under the administration of the East India Company, that the Madras government were masters of all the vital points on the southern coastline of the Sarkars and hence not only commanded vast resources in salt but also effectively controlled the land and sea customs. Renters were permitted to take small farms, in partnership, notwithstanding the fact that each one of them had been a bidder for other farms, and this naturally attracted the best offers since it allowed for a pooling of resources to make a bid look respectable.

In 1762, the farms were again let for a period of one year to practically the same renters as in the previous year.⁶⁴ The total gross revenues showed an increase of Rs. 1,84,000. But the net gain to the Company was considerably reduced owing to the fact that as a direct result of the institution of monthly payments the renters had been backward in the discharge of their dues and the three salt farms alone showed a deficit of Rs. 1,21,000.⁶⁵

61 Sea and land customs respectively.

62 Pandraka is situated very near Masulipatam. Both in the Bandar taluk.

63 Liquor license.

64 *Pub Cons.* 24 May and 15 November 1763 Vol. 21 pp. 219 and 428-29 respectively. The Court of Directors approved the continuing of the old renters. See *Madras Dispatches* 30 December 1763, para 106 Vol. II p. 889.

65 *Pub. Cons.* 27 September 1763. Vol. 21 pp. 361-65. On this, the Court of Directors observed that the Masulipatam revenues were "a very considerable sum indeed, but when the heavy expenses of your presidency in their various branches are set against them, the necessity of putting the one upon the best footing and reducing the other in every instance wherever it can be conveniently and safely done is too obvious to dwell upon any further than for recommend(ing) them to your strictest care and attention". *Madras Dispatches* 30 December 1763 para 108 Vol. II Pp. 890-91.

The Madras Government was particularly careful not to add to the strength of any single individual who enjoyed considerable power and influence in the district where a farm was available for rent. Thus when the Raja of Mugalaturru offered to rent the Narsapur farm, they observed that "as we are informed he is a poligar who commands a considerable force, we should prefer giving the rent to any other person of credit who may be inclined to take it on the same rent".⁶⁶ This was only to avoid coming into conflict with the powerful raja in case of his being unable to pay the revenue or defraying the Company's slender forces at Masulipatam. As a rule, the renters pressed for an extension of time to pay their *kists* and the Madras Government reluctantly agreed to this proposal notwithstanding their original orders to the contrary.⁶⁷

The year 1764 was a very lean year for the Masulipatam revenues. The disturbances occasioned in the Sarkars by Sitaramarazu attracted fewer renters and lower bid.⁶⁸ To counteract this, the Madras Council sought relief in a quinquennial lease. But this was attended with little success and we read that "the offers now made, although for a term of five years, are in general not higher than the farms let out for the last year, and from hence we find that the unsettled situation of those countries disappoints for the present our hopes of raising the value of the farms by letting them for a term of five years."⁶⁹ The result of this discouraging prospect was a relapse into the ruinous practice of an annual lease with its attendant features of insecurity, outstanding balances and general severity of administration.

In October 1764 a test case came up for the consideration of the Madras Council which profoundly affected the principles of revenue administration at this period.⁷⁰ The balance due from the Masulipatam farms amounted to Rs. 1,88,445— of this, Mr. Bakhar, renter of the Nizampatam farm for the four years 1760—1763, was
A test Case responsible for as much as Rs. 1,44,778. The chief of Masulipatam explained that the farm had been constantly

⁶⁶ *Pub. Cons.* 15 November 1765 Vol. 21 p. 429. But for want of an eligible renter the raja was granted the lease of their farm. See *Idem* 13 December. *Idem* pp. 27-28.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Idem* 9 January and 7 April 1764 Vol. 22 pp. 31-32 and 188 respectively.

⁶⁹ *Idem*. 24 May 1764 Vol. 22 pp. 266-267. The Court of Directors reviewed this measure with scepticism, but permitted the measure and directed Madras 'to take the utmost care that the renters do punctually pay their annual rents according to their stipulated times and not suffered on any pretence whatsoever to be in arrears'. See *Madras Dispatches* 4 January 1765 Vol. III. pp. 29-30.

⁷⁰ *Public Cons.* 30 October 1764. Vol. 22 pp. 531-32. See also *Idem* 18 July 1768, where the evil effects of the overrating of this farm were recalled. Vol. 27, p. 529.

overrated during those years to the extent of Rs. 1,84,830 and hence the inability of Mir Bakhor to pay off his dues. He also explained that nothing could be obtained from the personal effects of this renter. Reviewing this position, the Madras Council expressed their inability to proceed otherwise than by directing the balance to be recovered in full and "constantly carried forward on the books". In this decision is to be found the germ of that evil practice of accumulating balance which in later times not only embarrassed the Madras government and the Court of Directors, but also resulted in the sequestration of important family properties and zamindari with its concomitant results of distrust and rebellion.

The next year saw the first experiment with a quinquennial lease and the clear definition of the views of the Madras Government on the rights of renters and cultivators. They wrote "As these renters are the servants of the Company it is agreed to write to Mr. Pybus that it will be proper to keep an eye on their management and be careful that they allow the inhabitants their just dues, that the extending of the farms to the term of five years should be a further inducement to their improving them by cultivating the lands and avoiding any means of opposition, (on) which supposition only, and to enable them to pay the rents punctually, it is, that we commit the charge of them to their management".⁷¹ This declaration shows clearly that the cultivators were regarded as possessing certain customary rights, but it raises and leaves unanswered the important issue whether the cultivators were proprietors of the soil,

Two points of interest are to be noted before we pass on to a study of the dual government in the Sarkars. The first is that, owing to a great scarcity of coin, the Madras government were obliged to supersede the Madras Pagoda, which had been the most widely accepted coin in the Sarkars, with the current or star pagoda which was inferior in value.⁷² There was an outcry against this innovation, but the

⁷¹ *Pub. Cons.* 27 May 1765. Vol. 23 p. 225.

⁷² *Idem.* 27 January and 23 February 1767 Vol. 25, p. 35 and p. 99 respectively. See also Prof. N. H. Dodwell's paper on "The substitution of silver for gold in the currency of South India" in the *Indian Journal of Economics* Vol. III, especially pp. 194—195 (January 1921)

See further *Observations on the Copper Coinage wanted for the Northern Circars* by Alexander Dalrymple, 1774 (I. 6. Tracts Vol. 48) See also *Madras to Masulipatam* 4 April 1765.

Milit. Cons. Col. 42 pp. 297-301 The Company's rate of exchange was fixed at 3¼ rupees a Madras pagoda as against the one of 4¼ rupees a pagoda claimed by the *sahukars* as the natural market rate. Hussain Ali was ordered curiously enough, to pay his balances in rupees. The Current Pagodas were then per cent inferior to the Madras Pagodas.

Madras government struck out a *via media* and resolved that "the inhabitants and shroffs may be persuaded (sic) to receive them on their being assured that the Company will be ready on all occasions to take them again on the same exchange".⁷³ A good deal of friction had been the result of this policy since the rate of exchange between the Madras and the Current pagodas had to be fixed as often as necessary by the Chief of Masulipatam who was also entrusted with the regulation of the bazaar rate of exchange between rupees and dubbis.⁷⁴ But, the revenue accounts were henceforward kept indifferently, sometimes in Madras Pagodas and sometimes in Current Pagodas.

The second point to be noted is that the transit duties collected by the zamindars were strictly limited by the Madras government both in number and extent. This is material point in connection with the land tenures of the Sarkars. From time immemorial, the zamindars had been accustomed to levy and collect certain duties on articles of commerce passing through their territories. Each zamindar had his own barrier and the zamindars were numerous. This chain of frequent and onerous transit duties not only fettered the movements of trade, but also greatly reduced the revenues of the Company. Complaints about this vicious system had been made by the Chief of Masulipatam as early as 1764.⁷⁵ But, at a time when the country was in a state of anarchy, the Madras Government were not prepared to create unrest among the zamindas of the Sarkars, who had long been used to this source of revenue as a matter of legitimate right. In 1768, after the two treaties with Nizam Ali had been signed, they declared that "the Zemindars of the Northern Circars are undoubtedly entitled to no other duties than what were usually collected when those countries were under French Government".⁷⁶ These duties were abolished later on, but this restraint placed upon zamindars added considerably to the Masulipatam revenues.

The following is a statement of the revenues of the Masulipatam farms for the years 1762 to 1773. The Vizagapatam revenues are also given for the sake of comparison.⁷⁷

73 *Idem* 25 February 1767 Vol. 23 p. 99

74 *Idem*. 22 September 1766. Vol. 24 pp. 472-75

75 In 1765 the Madras Government drew pointed attention to the duties collected by the zamindars and renters at the successive stages of the movements of the Lambadi hawkers of coastal salt. See *Madras letters received 18 October 1765* (Palk.) para. 79 Vol. II. (pages not numbered).

76 *Pub. Cons.* 18 July 1768. Vol. 27. p. 543

77 Throughout this period, the Company maintained a settlement at Vizagapatam, independent of the authority of the Pusapatis of Vijayanagaram, and the revenues as far as they are available, show mostly the receipts from land and sea customs.

Figures for 1767, 1768 and 1771 are not available.

Revenues of the Masulipatam and Vizagapatam Farms. In M.Ps

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Masulipatam Farms.</i>	<i>Vizagapatam Farms.</i>
1762	1,12,125	...
1763	1,57,700	...
1764	1,04,625	5,858
1765	1,11,445	5,869
1766	1,11,274	5,447
1767	...	...
1768	...	...
1769	1,04,570	6,801
1770	1,40,195	6,687
1771	...	...
1772	1,09,888	6,447
1773	1,09,788	3,987

The sudden fall in 1764 was the effect of the incursions of Sitaramarazu into the Rajahmundry and Ellore Sarkars. The fall in the revenues for 1772 and 1773 was occasioned by a redistribution of the Masulipatam farms in accordance with the general revenue policy adopted in the Sarkars which by that time had come under the complete control of the Madras Government.

The results of the revenue administration of these farms may be grouped together as follows: the farming system was uniformly followed; experiments in long leases had been attended with scant success; an attempt had been made to secure to the ryot his just share of the produce; the evils of an ever accumulating balance of revenues had been recognised as inevitable; and finally, an initial attempt had been made to restrain the zamindars from clogging the wheels of commerce and industry. In all these respects, the revenue policy of the Madras government with respect to the Northern Sarkars had been practically identical during the next thirty years.

(To be continued)

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE KAKATIYAS.

Pratapa Rudra (continued).

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Accession--Prataparudra's claims to the Kakatiya throne rested not on his birth but on his being adopted by his maternal grandmother and predecessor Rudramba. Vidyanatha mentions that his mother was Mummadamba and his father Mahādēva. It is not at present possible to identify this Mahādēva. Historians are under the impression that Pratapa Rudra took up the administration of the empire in 1296 A. D. after his accession. We have already pointed out elsewhere that he was ruling conjointly with Rudramba between 1290-1296 A.D. It must therefore be said that his rule began in 1290 A. D. This fact is borne out by a number of inscriptions.

Rule--Pratapa Rudra seems to have had an eventful reign. Like the reign of Aurangzeb, the great Mogul, it shows the high water mark of Kakatiya glory and also witnesses the inevitable but pitiable reaction in the opposite direction. Time and again, the monarch had to contend against heterogeneous forces which in spite of his temporary curbing ultimately blazed forth into a huge conflagration that decimated the whole empire. The reign is a striking example of the presence of the Hand of God in History.

Local Records of the Gandikota region indicate some disturbance in the early part of the reign and associate the Kāyastha feudatories with it. ManmaGandaGopala a Telugu Choda ruler of Nellore, is known to have been a feudatory of PratapaRudra. Ādidamma, a Kakatiya general, claims to have invaded Nellore and worsted its ruler. Ambadēva, the Kayastha feudatory, appears as a friend of ManmaGandaGopala. From these facts it appears that the Choda rebelled with the aid of the Kayastha and that this rebellion was put down by Ādidamma. This was probably a sign of dissatisfaction due to the weak title of Pratapa Rudra to the throne and might be placed very early in the reign, about 1300 A. D.

Just at this time important events were taking place in North India. The throne of Delhi fell into the hands of Alauddin, who had made his mark as a reputed fighter in his campaigns against Devagiri

in 1294. Soon after his accession the Sultan sent a large army *via* Bengal and the East Coast, to continue his work in the Deccan and annex it. But this expedition was repelled by the Eastern Gangas in 1303. However the Sultan sent fresh forces under his trusted lieutenant, Malik Naib Kaffur. The Yadavas of Devagiri, who were the hereditary foes of the Kakatiyas rendered much service and assistance to the invaders.¹ Having come to know of this, Pratapa Rudra dispatched to the North a large contingent of forces under the leadership of valiant generals like Mēcheya Nayaka and Bendapudi Anna. The Andhras crossed the Godavary and met the advancing foe. Ultimately the invaders were defeated and made a retreat to Delhi *via* Devagiri ²

In the year 1304 there was a rebellion at Gandikota. A careful study of the Local Records reveals many interesting facts. It is said that Ambadeva set up a rebellion in this frontier post. Inscriptions of this general are found only up to 1304. Since that date a certain Sōmayanāyaka figures as the viceroy at Gandikota.³ These facts lead to the conclusion that Ambadeva tried for the second time to throw off the Kakatiya yoke in that year; but was defeated and probably killed and succeeded by Sōmayanāyaka in the Gandikota region.

Immediately after this domestic disturbance was put down, the monarch had to face the Mahomadans in the North. In 1304, Alauddin sent Malik kaffur to Devagiri to punish its ruler for disobedience. Not content with having accomplished this task and intent upon avenging his former defeat at the hands of the Andhras, the Mahomadan general marched upon Warangal. Unprepared as they were for this attack, the Andhras put up a strong fight and impelled by a strong love of crown and country, tore their opponents to pieces. Kaffur was forced to beat a second retreat to the North.

The period from 1304-1309 is the most glorious in the reign of Pratapa Rudra. With the internal disorder effectively checked and the external foe completely repelled, the country enjoyed undisturbed peace and security; consequently intellectual activity of an unprecedented type set in. The ruler was himself a great scholar and a lover of learning. Poets, scholars, artists and talented men swarmed to his court like bees. Pratapa Rudra encouraged Sanskrit, Telugu and Canarese too and liberally

1 Much valuable information regarding the Mahomadan invasions of Warangal, is available from three important documents— "Nub Siphir" and "Tarikh-i-Alai" of Amir Khusru; "Tarikh-i-Firoz shahi" of Barani; and "Tarikh-i-Firoz shahiji" of Shams-i-Siraj Afib. Traditional Telugu Histories like the Pratapa-charitram etc., also give their own versions.

2 Mahomadan histories which credit the Muslims with success in this campaign, are untrustworthy.

3 cf. L. R. Gandikota

patronised all the sciences and arts. A number of eminent literary works were composed at his court and many fine pieces of sculpture executed at his command. It looked as though the times of Raja Raja the chalu-
kya and Manmasiddhi of Nellore were being reproduced on a much larger scale or the age of Krishnarāya of Vizayanagar was being rehearsed.

The persistent victories of the Andhras were an eyesore to the Yadavas. The latter informed Alauddin that the Andhras had run intellectually mad and instigated him to a fresh attack. Accordingly the Sultan sent Malik kaffur to the South, with large forces in 1309. Amir khusru, the Mahomadan historian, narrates how the Muslim hordes marched through Masūd-pūr, Khandar, and Nilkhant, experiencing innumerable difficulties on the way and entered the Kakatiya Empire. They captured Sirpūr and Kunarpāl and finally encamped at Annakonda and surrounded Warangal. In spite of the horrible resistance on the part of the Andhras, the Mahomadans were able, by dint of their superior methods of warfare and tenacity of purpose, to capture the impregnable mud wall that enclosed the fort and laid sieze to the stone enclosure within. Being suddenly attacked and completely blockaded by the enemy, the Andhras were constrained to sue for peace. Prataparudra agreed to submit to the Sultan of Delhi, and to pay him an annual tribute. Large sums of money and vast treasures were given to the Muslim general as compensation. Thus ended the third invasion of the Mahomadans in the month of March 1310 A.D.⁴

Hard on the heels of this calamity came fresh trouble from the South and South West which kept the monarch busy between 1311-1314. In 1311 the Pandyas invaded Kānchi, drove away Vira Ganda Gopala and occupied it. Pratapa Rudra dispatched two of his valiant generals to retrieve this loss. One of them was Yerradachānāyadu of the Recherla family of the Padmanayakas, who is credited with having defeated the Pandyas and carried away their treasures. The other was Rudra of the Indulūri family who is said to have defeated the five Pandyas.⁵

By 1314, however, the situation became worse. Ravivarman, the ruler of Kēraḷa, invaded Kanchi, drove away the Pandyas and the Kakatiya feudatory also and occupied it. With undaunted courage the Kakatiya monarch dispatched Muppudinayaka to the South. This general was able to clear the ground of all enemies and place Māna Vira a member of the Telugu choda lineage, on the throne of Kanchi by 1316 A.D.

⁴ The Muslim account of this incident abounds in exaggerations while the Hindu version, which claims success for the Andhras, is not reliable.

⁵ Ref. *Sivayogasaramu* (Introduction.)

Two more incidents of significance took place at this time. We have previously stated how the Padmanayakas were patronized by the Kakatiya monarch and were showing great valour and courage. Yerra Dachānayaka and Muppidi Nayaka continued the tradition in this reign. Being hard pressed by enemies repeatedly, Pratapa Rudra gave the Padmanayakas his exclusive patronage and made them heads of all his seventy seven departments of state. This naturally roused the ire of the other communities and especially the Reddis who were enjoining considerable political power previously. The traditional histories of Gandikota mention that in that region the *Odde* chieftains fomented a rebellion aided by other potentates. We might infer from it that the Reddis expressed their resentment at the king's communal policy by throwing their lot with these *odde* chiefs. The fact that PrōlayaVēmaReddi deserted his suzerain in a critical situation in 1320 lends support to this view. Pratapa Rudra is said to have personally visited this place and this proves the seriousness of the situation. Local Records show that Sōmayanāyaka governed Gandikota till 1313 and was succeeded by Gonkā Reddi in 1315. This rebellion must have taken place therefore in 1314.

Tradition and the Local Records throw much light on the movements of the king during the next five years. He is said to have ordered the destruction of many forests in the Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts, and brought the land under cultivation. These economic measures were adopted by the king in order to replenish his treasury which was seriously effected by the Mahomadan invasions. Pratapa Rudra is also said to have gone on an extensive pilgrimage to many holy places. Tradition carries him as far south as Rāmēsveram. Inscriptions however prove his presence at Srisailam and Tripurantakam in the Telugu Country, Sri Rangam and Jembukesveram in the Tamil Country, and the Siva Ganga hill in the Tumkur taluk of modern Mysore. Whether he visited these foreign lands as a conqueror and if so under what circumstances, is a question that has to be decided by future researches.

The year 1319 marks the last peaceful and prosperous year in the reign of Pratapa Rudra. Shortly after that the monarch and the Andhra Country were drawn into a whirlpool of troubles and misfortunes from which the latter was able to recover not till many years elapsed and in which the former succumbed. In 1320 there was trouble from both within and without the empire, simultaneously. The small kingdom of Kampila was making rapid advances with the numerous victories of its valiant young prince Kumāra Rama. In that year the prince solicited the help of Pratapa Rudra, against the Hoysalas but the monarch refused help on the ground that the Hoysalas were his friends. There upon Rama

besieged the southern borders of the Kakatiya Empire. Singamanayaka of the Recherla family and Annāmātya were sent against Kampila. The Kakatiyas ultimately won a decisive victory.⁶

At this very time the Reddis were busy hatching up a fresh conspiracy. Soon, news arrived at Warangal, of a Mahomadan attack. Consequently the king was busy gathering his scattered forces. The Reddis whose ambition was formerly thwarted at Gandikota, took advantage of this opportunity, concentrated at Amaravati and proclaimed independence. A small detachment was however sent against them by Pratapa Rudra but was easily worsted by the powerful rebels. This was the first nail in the coffin of the Kakatiya Empire.

Since the victory of Malik kaffur in 1310 at Warangal, Delhi underwent many violent political changes. The crown waded through much blood and finally settled on the forehead of Ghias-ud-din of the Tuglak dynasty. In 1320, immediately after his accession, this Sultan revived the policy of Alauddin and sent a strong force under his son Ulgukhan to capture and reduce the Andhra kingdom and its ruler. Ziuddin Barni gives a detailed account of this expedition.⁷ After strenuous fighting the Mahomadans seem to have reached the point of victory when a terrible disaster overtook them. Mutual jealousies of the leaders and a false rumour about the death of the Sultan made the forces desert the field all of a sudden. Taking advantage of this providential interference, the Andhras routed many of the retreating foes. This was in 1321.

In 1322 was struck the final blow at Warangal and many things conspired to effect it. The Andhras were too much elated with their accidental victory in the previous year and were off their guard, in spite of their knowledge and experience of the Mahomadan policy of persistent and frequent attacks. The Sultan sent a large contingent to his son who was biding his time at Devagiri and spurred him on to a fresh attack on the Andhra capital. The Yadavas helped the invaders as usual. Ziuddin Barni makes light work of his description of this expedition and its results. According to him Ulgukhan was easily able to capture the mud wall of the Warangal fort and lay sieze to the stone wall. Alarmed at this the ruler surrendered, was taken prisoner and speedily dispatched to Delhi while the Mahomadan general followed him with the priceless treasures of the Warangal treasury. This Muslim

6 The exploits of Kumara Rama are known from two Canarese *Mss.* reviewed in *Q. J. M. S.* XXI. pt. ii. The Bhimakhanda of the Telugu poet Sreenatha is also useful in tracing the relation between the Kakatiyas and the ruler of Kampila.

7 Elliot — vol. III. p. 291

victory does not seem to have been so easily won, though internal dissensions, the death of many valiant generals in previous wars, and the generally weakened condition of the forces in the Andhra camp, might have made the task of the Muslim general considerably easy. The traditional histories of the Kakatiyas give a different and perhaps a more reliable version of this war. The Padmanayakas bore the brunt of the war and got the lion's share of glory. This enraged the battallion of Reddis who still remained in the service of Pratapa Rudra and these entered into negotiations with the Mahomadans. Having received a wholesome bribe, these Reddis under the leadership of Babba Reddi suddenly deserted the Andhra king when the fortunes of war were hanging in the balance. Dismayed at this, Pratapa Rudra rushed to the field with a handful of followers. Ulgukhan consummated his *coup* by rushing upon the monarch and capturing him. And thus set the Kakatiya sun about the middle of the year 1323 A. D.

The unfortunate monarch was taken prisoner to Delhi. It is generally supposed that he died in the same year. Mahomadan writers say that he died on the way. Both these suppositions are wrong. There are at least two inscriptions which prove that Pratapa Rudra was ruling at Warangal in 1326 A.D. One of them records a grant by the general Rudra⁸ while the other registers a gift by a Reddi Chieftain.⁹ There is besides, a strong tradition which credits a minister of Pratapa Rudra with having released his master from the prison and restored him to the Kakatiya throne. However the monarch does not seem to have long survived this humiliation. Being born in 1254 A.D. he was sixty nine years old by the time he was captured and the latest we hear of him is in his seventy second year. It is not improbable therefore that the monarch died in 1326 A. D.

Literary patronage—The ages of Raja Raja and Manmasiddhi mark two important epochs in the development of Telugu Literature. The reign of Pratapa Rudra marks a distinct epoch in the evolution of Telugu and Sanskrit literature in the Andhra country. The names of many Sanskrit poets that adorned this monarch's court are known from extant works. Vidyānātha the famous author of the popular work on rhetoric known as "*Pratapa Rudra yaśōbhūshana*" flourished at Warangal. The name of a certain Mallinatha, a famous *śatāvadhāni* is known from Narayana Pandita's *chamṇū-rāmayana Vyakhyā*. The poet Agastya is said to have lived at Warangal and written seventy seven *Kavyas*. *Gāṅgādhara*, the author of *Bāla Bharata*, *Narasimha*, the writer of *Kādambari Nātaka*, *Viswanātha*, the

⁸ E. R. No. 308 of 1915.

⁹ The Reddikula *Nirnayachandrika* p. 88—89.

author of Saugandhikāpaharana Vyāyōga, Virabhallata Dēsika of many sided scholarship¹⁰ and Appayārya, the Jain poet who wrote Jinendra Kalyāṇābhyaṇa¹¹— all these Sanskrit poets received the patronage of Pratapa Rudra. The names of many contemporary Telugu poets are also known. Tippana alias Tripurantaka, the author of Prēmābhirāma lived at Warangal, in this monarch's reign. Mārana wrote the Mārkaṇḍeya Purana and dedicated it to Nāgaya Gannaya a general of the Emperor. The famous poet Bhāskara and his associates Mallikārjuna, Kumāra-Rudra and Ayyalārya composed the Bhāskara Ramayana and dedicated it to Sāhini Māra the Emperor's commander of cavalry forces. Thus this reign witnessed literary effervescence of an unprecedented kind.

Chapter VI.

Successors of Pratapa Rudra.

After the capture in 1323 and death in 1326 of Pratapa Rudra, the Kakatiya empire was torn into pieces. We have already shown how communal jealousy lead to the secession of the Reddis and the establishment of their independence at Vinukonda as early as 1320. It is not possible to say with any amount of certainty who the immediate successor of Pratapa Rudra was. The Local Records mention Juttaya Lanka Gonka Reddi as a son of the monarch while the Uparpalli inscription calls him Juttaya.¹² According to Elliot, Virabhadra son and successor of Pratapa Rudra, retired to Kondavidu in 1323.¹³ The Muslim historians speak of a Vināyakadēva alias Nāgadēva.¹⁴ Ziauddin Barni calls a Kanha Naik son of 'Ludder Deo' and Sewell calls him Krishna.¹⁵ Traditional histories say that Pratapa Rudra had two sons called Virabhadra and Virupaksha. His brother Annamadeva is said to have fled to the N. E. and carved out a small principality for himself. Probably Pratapa Rudra had more than one son who after his death, divided among themselves, the territory round Warangal. Of these Krishna or Kanha Naik seems to have held Warangal city and probably he was the Hindu king of Warangal from whom Alauddin Hussan the first Bahmani Sultan exacted tribute.

10 I am much indebted to Mr. Veturi Prabhakara Sastry for help in this connection.

11 Cat. of Sans. & Prak. MSS in C. P. and Berar. p. XXXVII.

12 I. A. XXXVII, p. 357

13 Coins of Southern India p. 84

14 I. A. XXXVII, p. 357. ff. 22

15 Antiquities II, p. 174

The Padmanayakas concentrated at Devarakonda and Rajakonda and established themselves there. The Reddis shifted from Amaravati to Addanki and from there to Kondavidu and there established an independent kingdom. In the Godavary region Prolayanayaka repelled the Mahomadans and established a small principality. The greater part of the Kakatiya empire was thus divided. The Southern and South western part came to be transformed into the famous Vijayanagar Empire.

Conclusion.

Thus, the small principality of the Kakatiyas which rose to fame about the middle of the 11th century, came to a sudden end in the first quarter of the 14th century. It came into being on the ruins of the Vēngi Empire, and then passed under the Western Chalukyan yoke for a time. Through the untiring zeal of Prōla and Rudra, this small principality so expanded as to include the whole of the Telingāna and the Godavary, Kistna, Guntur and Kurnool Districts of the Madras Presidency. This expansion synchronised with the establishment of the independence of the Kakatiyas. Under Ganapati, all the Northern Circars as well as Southern Kalinga in the N. E., the Ceded Districts in the S. W. and Thondai mandalam for a time were finally annexed. Pratāpa Rudra held all these dominions firmly and for a time intruded into South India also. Thus, this Andhra Empire in the heyday of its glory included the whole of the territory lying between the Southern portions of C. P. and Berar, the Ganjam District, Sri Rangam, the Tumkur Tq. of Mysore, Raichur and Kalyan in the West. On its remains arose the later Andhra principalities of the Padmanāyakas, the Reddis and Vijayanagar.

(Concluded)

THE HISTORY OF THE EASTERN GANGAS OF KALINGA.

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

Chapter V.

(Continued from page 216, Vol. VI Parts 3 and 4).

Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅga had his capital at Kalinganagara till 1135 A. D. In that year, he returned to his capital, Nagaram, after subduing the Western, Northern and Eastern countries and bringing the whole country lying between the Ganges and the Godavari rivers under his firm control.⁹⁴ He took up the title of *Chakravarti* (Emperor). He paid a visit to the holy god Śrīkūrmanātha of Śrīkūrmam in the Ganjam District before returning to his capital. Shortly after, he seems to have removed his capital to Cuttack. The *Mādalāpāñji* or the Jagannath Chronicle states that Chōḍagaṅga defeated the last king of the Kēśari Dynasty named Suvarṇa Kēśari with the help of his minister, Vāsudeva Bāhampati in A.D. 1134 and succeeded to the Utkala kingdom and transferred his capital to Cuttack. The causes for the transfer of his capital to Cuttack may be the following: —

1 The extension of his Empire to the river Bāgirathi--Ganges in the north, thus necessitating the removal of the capital also to the north so that Utkala and with it the Oḍras might be subdued fully.

2 The necessity to overcome the opposition of the Kalachuris of Chedi who were ruling in the western regions defying the authority of the E. Gangas.

3 The decline of the power of the Chalukya — Chōḍas in the Vengi country, especially after the death of Kulōttunga Chōladeva in 1118 A. D. when his son Vikramachōla who was the Viceroy of Vengi retired to the south, leaving the kingdom in the hands of the Velanāṭi Chōḍas.

The Emperor's Korn⁹⁵ and Visag⁹⁶ Plates, dated A. D. 1112 and 1118 respectively, state clearly that he first replaced the fallen Lord of Utkala in the Eastern region and then the waning lord of Vengi in the Western region and restored their fortunes. So, even before 1118

⁹⁴ S. I. Inscr. Vol. V, No. 1335

⁹⁵ J. A. H. R. S. Vol. I, Pp. 118—123.

⁹⁶ I. A. Vol. XVIII, Pp. 165—172.

A. D. when Kulōttungachōla died, Anantavarma got control over Utkala and Vengi. Though he did not annex them to his empire, he interfered in the affairs of those kingdoms so successfully that their lords must have formed friendly subordinate alliances with him. The Pittapur Inscription of Mallapadeva⁹⁷ states that, after Kulottungachōla's death in A.D. 1118 when his son Vikramachōla left the Vengi viceroyalty in the hands of the Velanati chola chief named Kulottunga Rajendrachōda and retired to the South, Vengi⁹⁸ kingdom was distracted with anarchy, civil strife and foreign invasions. That part of the kingdom lying to the north of the R. Godavari became the bone of contention between the Velnati chiefs of Guntur District and the E. Ganga Emperor, until, by A. D. 1135, Anantavarma conquered and annexed that county as stated clearly in his Srikūrmam inscription. Vikramāditya VI of the Western Chalukyan dynasty, who had no love for the Chola kings, invaded Vengi after the death of Kulottunga and conquered it and ruled over it between A.D. 1120 and 1125 as witnessed by the presence of his inscriptions in the Draksharama temple.⁹⁸ After his death, Kulottunga got his final chance and probably then he took possession of the whole country extending up to the river Godavari. In other words, the South Kalinga country comprising the modern Visag and E. Godavari districts passed under his control. In proof of this, we can cite that in A.D. 1128, he and his several wives visited the God of Drākshārāma and made gifts.⁹⁹ Seven years later, in A. D. 1135, he made a virtual conquest of the whole region and annexed it to his Empire.¹⁰⁰ At the same time, he annexed Utkala and transferred his capital to Cuttack as stated in the Mādālā Pānji.

From certain inscriptions of Cholas and Velnati-cholas found in the same temple, we learn that the latter, as the viceroys of the former, made attempts to conquer Kalinga country and actually claim to have won victories. But, in the long run, the mighty arm of Anantavarma triumphed. Thus, the decline of the E. Chalukyan Empire, which began after the death of Rāja Raja Narendra in A.D. 1063, gave an opportunity to the E. Ganga Rāja Rāja to interfere in the affairs of Vengi and insert the thin end of the wedge. When, in 1070 A. D., Kulottunga succeeded to the Chola throne Vengi was ruled by his viceroys till 1118 A. D. and this gave better chance to Anantavarma to extend his power. However, as pointed out already, this extension of power was challenged first by Vikramaditya VI and then by the Velnati Chiefs until, by 1135 A.D., Anantavarma fully succeeded in extending his rule to the R. Godavari

97 Ep. Ind. Vol. IV, p. 229

98 S. I. Inserr. Vol. IV, Nos. 207, 258 and 331.

99 S. I. Inserr. Vol. IV, Nos. 1190—99.

100 S. I. Inserr. Vol. V, No. 1335.

in the south. Vengi Proper, lying between the Rivers Godavari and Krishna continued to be under the rule of the Velnati chiefs till the close of the 12th century when it passed under Kakatiya control.

An inscription found in the Drakshārāma Temple¹⁰¹ states that in A. D. 1116 Kulottunga had the title of *Gaṅga Kāvēri paryanta Dhoritripati* (Lord of the Earth lying between the River Ganges and the River Kaveri). An inscription found in the Nāḍindla Temple¹⁰² in Guntur District states that Velnati Choda conquered Kalinga Gaṅga Kaṭakam. This may refer to a mere raid led by him to Katakam, the new capital of the Later E. Gangas and this view is confirmed by the fact that they continued to enjoy uninterrupted rule there. An undated inscription, found in the Drakshārāma temple,¹⁰³ states that a certain Pōtarāju of the Kōna dynasty who was a Vassal of Rajendrachoda conquered Tri-Kalinga-nāḍha and obtained 1000 villages in Vengi as a reward. It is probable that this event occurred before Rajendrachoda's death in A.D. 1118. An examination of the contents of these inscriptions only confirms the view expressed already that, after the death of Kulottunga in A. D. 1118, the Chola-Chalukya power over the country lying to the north of the R. Godavari, began to decline and after the death of Vikramachola in A. D. 1135 it fell altogether. Hence, the Sri-Kurman inscription¹⁰⁴ must be believed in its entirety. It is a very important record because, firstly, it reveals the fact that Anantavarma conquered the three Quarters in 1135 A.D. and extended his rule over a vast region and secondly, that he visited the Sri-Kurman temple and made rich gifts to the God and to the Brahmins and thirdly, that he returned to his capital, Nagaram. In the same year, he transferred his capital from Nagaram to Cuttack in the North.

So far, five C. P. Grants¹⁰⁵ of this Emperor have been edited and a sixth¹⁰⁶ was noticed briefly.

101 S. I. I. Vol. IV, No. 1029 102 S. I. I. Vol. IV, No. 662.

103 S. I. I. Vol. IV, No. 1153. 104 S. I. I. Vol. V, No. 1335.

105. The Visag C.P. Grant of S. 1003 in I.A. Vol. 18 pp. 161-165; The Visag C. P. grant of S. 1040 in I.A. Vol. 18. Pp. 163-172; The Kornī C.P. Grant of S. 1003 in J.A.H.R.S. Vol. 1, pp. 10-18. The Kornī C.P. Grant of S. 1034 in J.A.H. R. S. Vol. 1, pp. 106-124; The Visag C.P. Grant of S. 1057 in I.A. Vol. 18, pp. 172-176;

106. C. P. Grant No. 6 of A. R. on S. I. Ep. for 1918-19 dated S. 1006.

The late Mr. R. D. Banerji in his *History of Orissa*, Vol I, devoted four Chapters (pp. 256-270) for writing an account of the Eastern Gaṅgas, which are very defective on account of his not drawing upon all the Sources available, particularly, the several C. P. Grants of the Early and Later Ganga kings published in J. A. H. R. S. by several scholars, the several copper-plate and stone inscriptions relating to the Gaṅga kings noticed in Annual Reports on S. I. Epigraphy, Madras and the several hundreds of inscriptions found in the S. I.

(1) The Visagapatam Copper-Plate Grant of Ś. 1003 (A. D. 1081) gives the date of accession of the Emperor as Ś. 999 expired, Saturday 17th Feb. 1078. He had the title of *Tri-Kalingādhipati*. It is a Sanskrit record written in South Indian Nagari characters. The seal has the image of a couchant *Nandi* (Bull) and on either side of it a *chauri* (Elephant-goad) and a conch-shell and other emblems. It is clear from the symbols on the seal that the Emperor was a follower of Saivite cult. The grant was issued from Kalinganagara, the capital. It consisted of the gift of the village of Chākivāḍa in the Samva district to the *Linga* (Phallus) form of God Siva called Rāja Rājēśvara for the purpose of performing *Bali*, *Paja*, *Nivēdya*, and *Utsavam* ie, the oblation of ghee, the worship, the perpetual oblation and the festival of God respectively. The temple was in the village of Rengujeda. Dr. Fleet rightly thought that the God was established in that village by Rāja Rāja, the father of the donor. Probably, it was constructed in imitation of the Rāja Rājēśvara Temple at Tanjore, built by the Chola Emperor Rāja Rāja, after whom the E. Ganga Rāja Rāja was named. The use of solar months in this inscription is also in imitation of a similar system found among Tamils. The Plates record the geneology of the E. Ganga Line from Guṇamahārṇava to the Donor.¹⁰⁷ and mention that the Gaṅgas are of *Atreya gotra*. It is noteworthy that the king calls together an assembly of all the people of the village headed by *Amātyas* (Ministers) and proclaims his gift in their presence.

(2) The Kornī C. P. Grant of the same king which belongs to the same year Ś. 1003 (A. D. 1081) gives the same geneology as that given in the Visag Grant noted above. Both are in Sanskrit and the Seals of both give the same emblems. The village of Kornī, where this set and another dated Ś. 1034 came to the discovered in 1924, is near Kalingapatam at the mouth of R. Vamśadhāra.

The list of Gaṅga kings given here, from Guṇamahārṇava onwards, agrees with similar lists found in the Visag C. P. Grants of the same king dated Ś. 1003 and Ś. 1057 and in all those of his grand.

Inscr. Vols. IV, V, and VI which relate to the Gangas. He based his entire Chapter on "the Fall of Gangas" on the late Mr. M. Chakravarti's "*Chronology of the E. Gaṅga kings of Orissa*" in J. A. S. B. Vol. LXXII with all its limitations and shortcomings. It is regrettable that several of his statements are wrong and hasty. His *Appendix* on p. 257 is wholly wrong and misleading. Not only did he fail to make use of the several articles published in J. A. H. R. S. on the subject but he also wrongly mentioned two of the Grants really belonging to Vajrahasta as belonging to Anantavarma and drew absurd conclusions therefrom.

¹⁰⁷ Vide the Geneological Table given already, on p. 273 of Vol. V, J.A.H.R.S.

father, Vajrahasta. The list of Gaṅga kings found in the second set of Korni plates dated Ś. 1034 agrees with a similar list given in the Visag plates of the same king dated Ś. 1040 and both trace the Line from Vishnu and Moon and both contain many mythological and Puranic names which cannot be accepted as historically true.

This Korni Grant of Ś 1003 records the gift of the village of Khōnna (same as Korni) by the king to 300 Brahmins, well-versed in *Yajanādi Shaṭkarma*, (the six religious rites), on second April 1082 A.D. It is believed that the Kālingi Brāhmins, now living in the village, may be the descendants of the original Donees. The modern villages of Omaravilli, Tōnangi, Korlam, Tūlugu and Gāra—all in the Ganjam District—are mentioned in this record as forming the boundary villages of Korni.

The Record gives the following history of the respective kings and extols the virtues of the dynasty:—

The Gaṅgas belonged to the Atrēya *gōtra*. They enjoyed universal sovereignty with the royal insignia of Conch-shell, Drum, Five Mahāśabdās, Royal Umbrella, Golden chowrie and Bull-crest. They worshipped Gōkarṇaswāmi (Śiva) seated on the summit of Mahēndragiri. They were the Lords of Tri-Kalinga country.

The first king was Guṇamahārṇava or Guṇārṇava who was succeeded by Vajrahasta. He ruled for 44 years. His son, Guṇḍama for 3 years and then his younger brother Kāmārṇava for 35 years and then his younger brother, Vinayāditya for 3 years ruled over the country. Then, Kāmārṇava's son Vajrahasta who presented a thousand elephants to applicants succeeded and ruled for 35 years. Then, his eldest son Kāmārṇava for 1/2 year and then Kāmārṇava's younger brother Guṇḍa for 3 years and his step-brother Madhukāmārṇava for 19 years enjoyed the earth. Then, the son, born to Kāmārṇava by Vinayamahādēvi of Vaidumba family, called Vajrahasta, who smote with his sword the thunderbolt falling from Heaven, ruled for 33 years. His son, RājaRāja, comparable to Kubēra, ruled for 8 years. Then, his son, born to Rajasundari daughter of Rājēndrachōla, called Chōḍagaṅga succeeded, being annointed in Ś. 999. From Kalinganagara, the illustrious Anantavarma who had the titles of *Paramamāhēśvara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Tri-Kalingādhipati* assembled his people headed by the Ministers and granted, for the religious merit of himself and his parents, the village of Khōnna, lying in the district of Varāhavartani (Chicacole), free of all taxes and obstacles, to 300 Brahmins learned in the 6 religious rites viz, performing and helping others to perform sacrifices, studying and helping others to study Vedas and granting and receiving gifts.

The Record was composed by Dāmōdara, son of Māvuraya who is called *Mahākhāyastha* or Accountant and *Sandhivigrahi* or Secretary for war and peace. It was engraved by Vallēmōja, the Chief smith,

(3) The Korni C.P. Grant of this king dated Ś. 1034 (A.D. 1113) is more important historically than the one of Ś. 1003. It resembles the Visag grant of Ś. 1040 in the use of old Tel-Kannaḍa alphabet and the supply of the full geneology and history of kings from Vishnu and Moon.

While referring to the grant made in Ś. 1003, it records the gift of a piece of land to the Brahmins living in Khōṇna. As pointed out by the Editor of this Grant, the reference to Vajrahasta's being the grantor might be interpreted in this way, that, while he made an oral grant already, Anantavarma confirmed and recorded it in Ś. 1003.

It was already stated that the mythological portion of the geneological table would not be believed.¹⁰⁸ The first historical person appears to be Veerasimha who claims to have conquered Chōla, Pāṇḍya, *Sapta* Kōṅkaṇa, Kerala, Karnāṭa and Lāta countries. He had 5 sons, viz, Kāmārṇava, Dānārṇava, Guṇārṇava, Mārasimha and Vajrahasta. *Kāmārṇava*, finding that his kingdom was usurped by his paternal uncle and disliking to violate *Dharma*, set out with his 4 brothers eastwards and reaching Mahendragiri worshipped Gōkarṇaswami and obtaining through his favour all the insignia of royal power, descended on Sabarāditya¹⁰⁹ and defeating him took Kalinga. He made Dantavura¹⁰⁹ his capital. Anointing Dānārṇava as the crown prince and giving Ambavāḍi to Guṇārṇava, Sōda to Mārasimha, Kanṭaka to Vajrahasta, he ruled over Kalinga for 36 years and then *Dānārṇava* ruled for 40 years. His son, *Kāmārṇava II* ruled for 50 years with *Nagara* as his capital. He built a lofty temple there for the phallus or *linga* form of Iśa or Śiva and called it Madhukeśa. His son, *Raṇārṇava* for 5 years and then, his elder son, *Vajrahasta II* for 15 years and his younger son *Kāmārṇava III* for 19 years enjoyed the earth. His son, *Guṇārṇava* for 27 years and then his son, *Potamkuśa* for 15 years and the latter's brother's son *Kalingalankuśa* for ruled over Kalinga. Then, Guṇārṇava's sons, *Guṇḍama*, *Kāmārṇava* and 12 years *Vinayāditya* ruled for 7, 25 and 3 years respectively. Then, *Vajrahasta IV* succeeded and ruled for 35 years. It is a suspicious point as to why this long Geneology before Guṇārṇava has been omitted in the two Plates of this king dated Ś. 1003 and in that of Ś. 1057 and in all the Plates of his grandfather Vajrahasta. There are several discrepancies and mistakes. For example, Vajrahasta I is not at all mentioned. Vajrahasta III is made the son of Madhukāmārṇava as opposed to the statement contained in all the other grants that he is the son of Kāmārṇava. Several of the names of kings mentioned as having ruled before Guṇārṇava—the first authentic sovereign of the *Later* Ganga Line of Kalinga—recall to our

¹⁰⁸ J.A.H.R.S. Vol. V pp. 262—264, and J.A.H.R.S. Vol. VI, p. 200 ff.

¹⁰⁹ J.A.H.R.S. Vol I. p. 108. The Editor very rightly points out, with the help of facsimilis, that *Balāditya* and *Jantavura*, as given by Dr. Fleet, are wrong.

mind those of the Early Gaṅga Line. Hence, in the Geneology and Chronology already given, the order of kings with their regnal periods, as it appears in all the plates commencing with Guṇārṇava, was accepted and published.¹¹⁰ The historical account of the Later Gaṅga kings from Guṇārṇava to Anantavarma was also given.¹¹¹

The importance of this C. P. Grant of Ś. 1034 lies in the fact that Anantavarma, the jewel of the Gaṅga race is stated to have first replaced the fallen Lord of Utkala in the Eastern region and then the waning Lord of Vēṅgi in the Western Region and restored their fortunes. The illustrious Anantavarma is credited with the titles of *Mahārāja*, *Rājāhīrāja*, *Rājaparamēśwara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Paramamāhēśwara*, *Paramavaishṇava*, *Paramabrahmanya* and *Mīlapitṛ pālānu lhyāta* and *Chōḍagaṅgaḍeva*. He assembled all the heads of families (*Kuṭumbīnas*) and chiefs of territorial units (*Rāshtrakūṭa Pramukhas*) living in the District of Varāhavartani as well as the Priest, (*Purōhita*), Minister (*Amātya*), Crown Prince (*Yuvārāja*), Secretary for war and peace (*Sandhivigrahi*), chief of royal attendants (*Dauvārika pramukha*) and other officials of the State and made known to them that his grand-father Vajrahasta granted in Ś. 1023 the village of Khōṇna with rights over Muṇḍaparru village to 300 Brahmins learned in the 6 religious rites and that a land measuring 88 *vrittis* (shares) taken from Tulupu as the substitute of Muṇḍaparru portion, viz. hamlet of Gāra already resumed, was granted by him in Ś. 1034, at the time of winter solstice (*Uttarāyana-sankrānti*) to the Brahmins of Khōṇna village.

The text was composed by Śāsanādhikāri Jātavēdibhaṭṭa and engraved by Bhaṭṭēnāchārya, son of Vellenāchārya.

4 The C. P. Grant of this king dated Ś. 1040 gives the same historical information as the one dated Ś. 1034. Its seal contains the images of a couchant bull, and in front of it sun and moon, *linga* on an *abhishēka* stand, umbrella, conch-shell, drum etc. It is also written in old Telugu-Kaṇṇaḍa letters. It gives the same set of geneology as the one of Ś. 1034. But Dr. Fleet, the editor of this grant, as stated by Prof. G. V. Seetapati, B. A., with the help of the published facsimilis of plates,¹¹² wrongly read certain names, e. g. *Balāṭitya* for *Sabarāṭitya*, *Jantavura* for *Dantavura*, *Jitamkuṣa* for *Pōtamkuṣa* and *Trimśata* for *Triyastriṃśata*.

The grant was made, in the presence of the same set of officials, to Mādhava Nāyaka, the grandson of Vasudeva Nāyaka, a royal dependent, for the merit of the king and his parents in Ś. 1040 (A. D. 1118). The donees were Vaishnavas and the king's title *Parama vai-*

110 J.A.H.R.S. Vol. V, p. 276.

111 J.A.H.R.S. Vol. VI p. 200 ff.

112 J. A. H. R. S. Vol. I, p. 108

-*ahnava* shows that he professed about this time the cult of Vishnu and so made gifts to Vaishnavas. It is interesting to note that the king, in this charter dated A. D. 1118, treats himself as decorated with the rank of the entire Sovereignty over the whole of Utkala. Probably, he conquered it about this time. But when it is remembered that in his Sri-kurmam inscription dated A. D. 1135 he refers to his newly made conquests of three quarters including Utkala, it will be believed that till that year his Sovereignty was not fully established over that country.

This grant was not made from Kalinganagara but only from Sindhurapura. The village granted was called Tāmarakhandi and it was situated in the district of Samva. It was given away with all its hamlets including its water and dry lands, free from all obstacles and taxes and made into an Agrahāra for ever.

5. Another grant of this king dated Ś. 1057 (A. D. 1135) resembles that of his Visag and Korni Plates, both dated in Ś. 1003. The characters of all these three plates are in South Indian Nagari. The language is Sanskrit. The images on the seals of the three Grants are also the same. Practically, the present charter, excepting the donative portion, is the same as those of Ś. 1003. This grant which was made from Kalinganagara consists of the village of Samuda with its hamlet of Tirlingi in the Sammaga *Vishaya* in Kalingadēśa. It was made to Chōdagaṅga, son of Permādirāja and Mamkama. This is a very interesting and important historical fact which confirms the information contained in some of the stone inscriptions found in Narayanapuram,¹¹³ Drākshārāma¹¹⁴ and Mukhalingam¹¹⁵ Temples. These Temple Inscriptions state that Anantavarma Chodaganga had a brother named UlagiyamVamda (Ulayigaṇḍa) Permādideva who had a son named Peddajiyānāyana Chōdagaṅga. (Rajēndrachōḍadēva) They were both holding the position of *Mahāmaṇḍalikas* or Provincial Governors during the period A. D. 1132—39.¹¹⁶ Since the gift of the village of Sammuda with its hamlet of Tirlingi (in Tekkali Taluq) was made to Chōdagaṅga, son of Permādi Raja in A. D. 1135, and since their stone inscriptions state that they were related to Anantavarma and acted as Governors in the Northern Province, it has to be inferred that the grant was made for the loyal military services rendered by these close relations of the Emperor. Probably, they helped him in the conquest of Utkala in the same year.

(6) The C. P. Grant dated Ś. 1006 of this king "registers the gift of the village of Sellada in the Rūpavartani *vishaya* (Tekkali Taluq) to Komārachendra, son of Nannipāngu and grandson of Vallanapāngu, a resident of Tālagrama for worship, offerings and lamps of the Goddess Bhagavati of Sellada village for the repair of the temple."

113 An. Rep. on S. I. Ep. for 1926—27, pp. 19, 20, 22, 112, Nos. 649, 650, 651, 657, 688, and 690.

The inscriptions of Ulayigaṇḍa-Permādirāju or Pedda-Permādirāju and of his son Rājēndrachōḍadēva or Chōdagaṅga relate to the grant of 5 *madas* for Neelēśwaradēva of Nīṇmjeruvu (Bobbili Taluq of Visag District.)

114 S.I. Inscr. Vol.IV, No. 1186. 115 S.I. Inscr. Vol.V, Nos. 1015 and 1019.

116 J. A. H. R. S. Vol. VI, pp. 212—216.

REVIEWS.

(a) ROCK-CUT TEMPLES AROUND BOMBAY

BY K. H. VAKIL

PUBLISHERS:- D. B. TARAPOREVALA SONS & Co., BOMBAY.

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The book deals with the several artistic monuments found in Western India—the Cave temples at Elephanta, Jogeshwari, Kanheri and Mandapeshwar which contain sculptural and architectural beauties rarely met with elsewhere. It is profusely illustrated and the author who produced already *Panoramic India* and *At Ajanta* richly deserves our heartfelt congratulations. It will be an invaluable guide-book to all lovers of art and architecture, for, it gives inspiration and joy and hence we commend the book to all Art studios and students. We also congratulate the publishers on their excellent get up.

R. S. R.

(b). JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Vol. VI, Part I, July 1931. Razan Press, Rajahmundry. Pp. 64.

One of the most interesting results of Indian "Reforms" is the revival of national consciousness among the people of Peninsular India. The great Telugu nation over 23 million strong, traces its history back to the days of Asoka, in the third century B.C., and the Andhra Empire, which ruled over the greater part of S. India for several hundred years after the downfall of Asoka's dynasty. Territorially the Andhras, as the Telugu-speaking peoples prefer to call themselves, at present belong partly to the Madras Presidency and partly to the Dominions of H.E.H. the Nizam. Dissatisfied with the predominance of Tamil influence at the headquarters of the Presidency, the Andhras, a little over a decade ago, demanded and got a National University, and now they claim a Province for themselves. The Andhra Historical Research Society is an expression of the same ideas, and justifies them admirably. In a preliminary note to this, its Sixth Volume, the Honorary Secretary relates concisely the growth of the Society from its foundation by a little group of scholars determined that the Andhras should not lag behind the rest of India in the study of their national culture. A significant item of the Society's programme is the commemoration, by fête and *fest-schrift*, of epochs of national history; thus in 1926 "Kalinga Day" was celebrated at Mukhalingam, the capital of the Kalinga Dynasty, in the British Indian district of Ganjam, and, in April, 1932, a "Kātātiya Day" is to be held at Warangal in the Nizam's territory, the capital of the great medieval monarchy of the Kākātiyas. In the Journal itself the leading interests are historical and linguistic, and the systematic publication of copper plate grants is a most valuable contribution to Indian research. Folklore, so far, has not come within its purview, an omission which it is hoped the Society will before long see its way to supply, for popular belief and practice and social institutions are vital factors in national life.

(From *Folk-Lore*, Vol. XLIII (1932) Pp. 353-4

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Part 2.

THE REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NORTHERN SARKARS. (1769—1786.)

DR. LANKA SUNDARAM, M.A. Ph D. (Lond) , F.R. Econ.S; Stat. S.

(Continued from page 48 Vol. VII Part I.)

Chapter II.

III. Dual Government in the Sarkars - Hussain Ali (1759—1768).

In this section we will deal with the revenue administration of the four Northern Sarkars exclusive of the Guntur Sarkar and the Masulipatam farms during the period 1759—1768. Throughout these ten years, although Nizam Ali continued to appoint governors, the Madras Government frequently interfered in matters relating to revenue. The successive *nawabs* appointed by the Court of Hyderabad, as had been already stated, were, Hussin Ali, Abdul Rahman and Fateh ud-Din Mahomed.

Nizam Ali's settlement of the Sarkars towards the close of the year 1759 resulted in the appointment of Hussain Ali as his *nawab* for the Sarkars of Rajahmundry, Ellore and Mustafanagar,⁷⁸ in the conferment of the Guntur Sarkar as a life *jagir* on Basalat Jang,⁷⁹ and the

⁷⁸ *Masulipatam to Madras.* 3 January 1760. *Milit. Cons.* 7 January, Vol. 43 pp. 23—24

⁷⁹ *Milit. Cons.* 20 March. *Idem* p. 288.

grant of the Chicacole Sarkar to Vijayaramaraju.⁸⁰ But as the principal deputy of Nizam Ali Hussain Ali attempted, quite unwarrantedly, to extend the sphere of his revenue administration. This spirit was promptly checked by the depredations of Basalat Jang in the south and by the formidable forces of the Pusapatis in spite of their fraternal quarrels, in the north. Anarchy in the country completely paralyzed the revenue machinery, and whatever revenues were collected in 1760 were got in by small detachments let loose on defenceless villages.

Early in 1761, portents of relief appeared. The settlement of the Vizianagram affairs, however haphazard they might have been and the restoration of the Company's towns,⁸¹ induced the Madras government to establish a chiefship at Masulipatam and direct John Andrews, its first incumbent, to furnish "a particular account of all the different paraganas (sic) and villages together with the yearly rent they pay to the Company."⁸² These directions specifically referred to the Masulipatam farms, but he evidently did not feel himself precluded, as appears from his letters to Madras, from endeavouring to obtain all available information with respect to the Sarkars in general.

Unaided, Hussain Ali was not able to establish himself as the *nawab* of the three middle Sarkars. Describing his lax and ineffective administration, Richard Fairfield, the temporary chief of Masulipatam, wrote in 1761 that from "constant intelligence from the Despondes in every district" it was evident that "there is one thing if not remedied in time, will prove prejudicial to the revenues here which is the insolence of the Jemidars occasioned by the weakness of the government. Hussain Ally Cawn being incapable of keeping them in order, the Jemidars etc. are continually plundering the merchants" and the Lambadi hawkers of coastal salt which, naturally enough, reacted upon the revenue resources of the country.⁸³ On this disquieting report the Madras government wrote home in the following manner:—Hussain Ali "could collect but a very small part of the revenues and that only by means of such a force as devoured the whole; the Circar of Chicacole being held by a powerful Rajah, and being withal difficult of access paid little or nothing; the Circar of Condavir was held in the name of Bazalet Jung by Careem Cawn who collected all the revenues and Hussain Alli Cawn had not the least

⁸⁰ *Vizagapatam to Madras* 13 July 1760 *Milit, Cons.* 18 August Vol. 44 pp. 691-92.

⁸¹ *Same to same*, 12 December. *Idem.* 12 January 1761 Vol. 47 p. 36. See also *same to same* 17 January 1761. *Idem* 9 February. *Idem* p. 131.

⁸² *Instructions to Andrews* 9 March *Idem* p. 333.

⁸³ *Masulipatam to Madras* 27 November 1761 *Milit, Cons.* 7 December, Vol. 47 pp. 781-82.

influence there; in the Circars of Ellore, Mustaphanagur and Rajahmundry he collected some of the revenues from such Zamindars who had not power enough to resist him, but so great were his expenses or profusion that according to his own account, he had never remitted above 50,000 (Rupees) to Nizamalli Cawn, and even that he had borrowed of Soucars upon the security of the then growing rents and which are now in arrear. In those parts where Hussain Alli Cawn's power prevailed, he tyrannized; in those which it could not reach, every Zamindar of a district set up first for independence and next invaded those neighbours whom he thought weaker than himself".⁸⁴

This state of affairs was equally unwelcome both to Hussain Ali and to the Madras government. Hussain Ali's visits to Madras to negotiate for an alliance between the Company and Nizam Ali, offered the Madras government an admirable opportunity to take stock of the revenue conditions in the Sarkars, and interest themselves therein with a view to restoring order in the country. They therefore encouraged Hussain Ali to come to terms with them whatever might be the results of the negotiations with Nizam Ali. According to the statement of the revenues of the Sarkars supplied by Hussain Ali,⁸⁵ it is evident that the revenue year began on 20 September. The districts of the five Sarkars were usually let to different Zamindars who held themselves on a more or less hereditary tenure, though the Zamindar might be removed for default. An annual estimate of the produce of each district was prepared and the rent assessed on that basis. Few zamindars paid their rents punctually on account of the prevailing anarchy. "Any person that can get together a few peons⁸⁶ takes upon himself to collect the rents of such a part of the country by which means the country is almost ruined and consequently the Jemidars cannot possibly collect their rents."⁸⁷ The first thing to be done was to restore order in the country by keeping the Zamindars in check, but at the same time not overwhelming them with a severe revenue demand. When negotiations with Nizam Ali had failed, the Madras government entered into an alliance with Hussain Ali, of course for the customary pecuniary consideration of the payment of military charges, and sent an additional *Sibbanti* corps of 10,000 sepoys to assist him in the collection of revenue.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ *Madras Letters Received* 9 November 1762 (Pigot) para 12 Vol. II (not numbered).

⁸⁵ *Hussain Ali to Madras, Country Correspondence* No 102 for 1762. *Milit Cons.* 23 August Vol. 48 pp. II-238 See also *idem* 30 August *idem* pp. II-249-51 for an analysis of revenues. This volume has three sections with three different sets of pages.

⁸⁶ Irregular retainers.

⁸⁷ *Milit Cons.* 30 August Vol. 48 pp. II-249-50.

⁸⁸ See *Madras to Masulipatam (Milit.)* 23 September 1762 Vol. 48 pp. II-287-94

On this, as has been shown in the previous chapter, the Madras government took the whole responsibility upon themselves even though

First attempt of the Madras government to control the revenues of the Sarkars.

they had only agreed to supply military assistance for a fixed payment. They sent *sanads* to the various Zamindars of the three middle Sarkars promising protection to all who recognised the Company's authority. The Chief of Masulipatam later accompanied Hussain Ali and toured these Sarkars with a view to speed up the collections of revenues and prevent fraud on the part of the zamindars.⁸⁹ As regards the Chicacole Sarkar they carefully avoided any conflict with the Pusapatis who were becoming more formidable day by day. They therefore substituted negotiation for the peaceful penetration which had been attended with success in the Sarkars of Rajahmundry Ellore and Mustafanagar.⁹⁰ This policy was immediately fruitful. Vijayaramaraju II sent his *vakils* to Madras soliciting the government's support and offering to come to terms.⁹¹ He offered to pay five lakhs of rupees within a year's time in full liquidation of whatever balances were claimed to be due by the Hyderabad government for the past three years, requesting the Madras government to settle the matter with Nizam Ali for that sum. He further offered a tribute of another five lakhs of rupees for the year 1762-63 (September to September) in two equal instalments in approved *sahukar* bills. Pigot's government were unwilling to lose such an opportunity, even though they were not authorised to negotiate with Vijayarama Razu, since their negotiations with Nizam Ali had been broken off. Notwithstanding the fact that the balance of dues from Vijayaramaraju had been considerable, they were "induced the reader to accept these terms" since there could be "but small hopes of recovering any part of it by compulsion".⁹² This transaction seemed to place the status of the Madras government in the Sarkars above that of Hussain Ali.

On his return to Masulipatam, Hussain Ali was only allowed to manage his *jagir* without directly interfering in the administration of the Sarkars. His services were only retained in a consultative capacity while the Chief of Masulipatam himself dealt with the zamindars and renters. The Madras government took over all his debts and endeavoured to free the countries from the mortgages which he had contracted, while his *sibbants* was disbanded and paid for from the Masulipatam treasury.⁹³ But Hussain Ali was unwilling to recede so suddenly into the

⁸⁹ *Masulipatam to Madras* 12 October. *Milit. Cons.* 25 October *Idem* pp. 11-338-39.

⁹⁰ *Madras to Masulipatam* 23 September *Idem* pp. 11-287-94.

⁹¹ *Milit. Cons.* 18 October Vol. 48 pp. 11-326-28.

⁹² *Idem* 18 October 1762 *Idem*.

⁹³ *Madras to Masulipatam* 25 October. Vol. 48 pp. 11-343-47.

background, and gave the Chief of Masulipatam "near as much trouble as the Jemidars".⁹⁴ His Officers collected *juncan* in the Rajahmundry Sarkar in particular and pillaged the country in general.⁹⁵ But further troubles were averted by his dismissal by Nizam Ali in November 1762 on the ground of his unsuccessful negotiations at Madras and the arrears of tribute due from him.⁹⁶

On this, the Madras government themselves took immediate measures to collect the arrears of revenue from the several zamindars and renters with whom they had entered into agreements on behalf of and previous to the dismissal of Hussain Ali.⁹⁷ How far these measures were successful is not clear from the records, but considerable difficulty was experienced in recovering the revenues which had been generally mortgaged to the *sahukars*.⁹⁸ This was due to the fact that the detachments of the Company's *sibbandi* corps had been withdrawn from the various districts. Nizam Ali meanwhile had directed the zamindars not to negotiate with the Company's servants and to refuse all payments of revenue.⁹⁹ This order compelled the Madras government to direct the Chief of Masulipatam to interfere no further.¹⁰⁰ With the withdrawal of the Company's restraining influence, the zamindars openly defied Nizam Ali's weak government, "turned out all the Soucars' agents to whom the revenues were mortgaged" and thus destroyed the source of credits in the country supplied by this important group of individuals who formed part of the normal revenue machinery of the times.¹⁰¹

During the first period of Hussain Ali's office, details of his administration are not uniformly available for all the Sarkars. But a general idea of his revenue practice and a few glimpses of the condition of the country can be obtained from a study of the Madras records.

It may be safely asserted that Hussain Ali's revenue administration was extremely severe. In his excessive zeal for the increase of the

⁹⁴ *Same to Same* 12 October 1762. *Milit. Cons.* 25 October. Vol. 48 pp. II 334—39.

⁹⁵ *Same to Same* 19 October. *Idem* 1 November, *Idem* pp. III, 1—2.

⁹⁶ *Nizam Ali to Madras, Country Correspondence*, No 165 for 1762 *Milit. Cons.* 15 November. *Idem* III—19.

⁹⁷ *Milit. Cons.* 15 November. *Idem* pp. III—20—22 and *Madras to Masulipatam* 18 November. *Idem* pp. III—27—28.

⁹⁸ *Masulipatam to Madras* 4 November 1762. *Milit. Cons.* 22 November. Vol. 48 pp. III—31—32.

⁹⁹ *Same to same* 14 and 16 November 1762. *Idem* 22nd November. *Idem* pp. III—33—35.

¹⁰⁰ *Madras to Masulipatam* 24 November. *Idem* pp. III—39—40.

¹⁰¹ *Masulipatam to Madras* 27 November. *Milit. Cons.* 6 December. *Idem* pp. III 1—57—59.

revenues, he overrated the provinces. According to his own statement the revenue position of the Sarkars under his administration was as follows:—102

Sarkar	No. of Districts.	No. of Villages.	Rent for 1761-62.	In Madras Pagodas.	
				Balances due	Proposed rent for 1762-63.
Rajahmundry.	33	12	2,35,344	86,408	1,73,021
Ellore and Mustafanagar.	34	6	1,96,908	73,321	2,20,400

This statement hardly indicates the severity of his rating of the Rajahmundry Sarkar. But, when we remember that Sitaramaraju controlled this Sarkar, it will be evident that Hussain Ali could only touch its southern extremities, and so could collect the revenue from part only of the Sarkar. Hence, the overrating. The Ellore and Mustafanagar Sarkars are clearly overrated to the extent of a lakh of rupees, especially at a time when the countries were reduced to a ruinous condition, and heavy balances were due from most of the zamindars and renters on the previous year's rent.

Hussain Ali's methods of collection were abominable. He paid little attention to the state of crops and the yield to the cultivators. He never took notice of the general clamour for a reduction of the rent when there was a severe failure of crops in 1762. On the contrary, from such tracts of land as were more fortunate he collected "double rent" to make up the deficiency in the gross receipts.¹⁰³ He adopted the ruinous but effective method of detaching the *sibbandi* first to plunder the districts and then collect the annual rent for which they stood debited in his accounts. The Devarakota *pargana* is an instance in point. An inundation of the river Kistna had produced a bumper harvest in this district. Recognising this, Hussain Ali demanded 40,000 Madras Pagodas from the raja, Varireddi Kodanda Ramayya, even though the annual tribute was only 16,000 Pagodas. As the raja refused to meet this excessive demand, Hussain Ali detailed one of his *sardars*, Jafar Beg, to plunder the country and capture the fort of Challapalli.¹⁰⁴ The country was effectively devastated, but the attack on the fort was repulsed with losses. The affair was then made up for a cash payment of 8,000 Pagodas. 5,000 Pagodas was allowed for the damage done to the country, but the plunder of Jafer Beg's detachment was estimated at more than 25,000 Pagodas,¹⁰⁵ and a balance of 3,000 Pagodas, the residue of the annual

102 *Hussain Ali to Madras. Country Correspondence* No. 102 for 1762. Vol. 48 pp. II-288.

103 *Milit. Cons.* 25 October 1762 Vol. 48 pp. II-334-39.

104 Challapalli is 16 miles S.E. of Masulipatam.

105 We have the chief's authority for this statement.

tribute unaccounted for by this transaction, was shown in Hussain Ali's books as due from the Raja.

The case of the Vinnakota Pargana illustrates the low state to which the country had been reduced by the ruinous nature of Hussain Ali's administration, besides supplying us with a realistic picture of the agricultural organisation of the times. This district had been generally believed to be capable of paying 30,000 Pagodas. But owing to the fact that Hussain Ali had stripped the inhabitants "of everything they had" in order to make up an enhanced *jamabandi* of 37,000 Pagodas, barely 4,000 Pagodas could be realised in 1762.¹⁰⁶

It is necessary to closely examine the account of the *desh-pandyas* concerning the ruinous state of this pargana.¹⁰⁷

I. Vinnakota Division.

Of the 84 towns of the Vinnakota division, 11 were completely destroyed, and 41 left in an extremely ruinous condition, thus making a total of 52 villages which were lying waste. The remaining 32 towns cultivating 91 *kattis* of land (about 1,274 acres) could only find seed to raise *jonaalu* (great millet; *Holcus saccharatus*) on 8 *kattis* (112 acres). Each *katti* in this pargana was estimated to produce 4 candies (*kandi* or *khandi*)¹⁰⁹ thus making a total produce of 32 candies. After deducting 16 candies towards the share of the cultivators, the remaining 16 at 7 Star Pagodas each would produce a revenue of

	S. Ps.	112
Tobacco cultivated in 15 <i>kuntas</i> ¹¹⁰ each valued at		
2½ Star Pagodas would produce	...	37
Quite rent	...	60
<i>Juncan</i>	...	400
		<hr/>
Total estimates revenue of the Vinnakota	S. Ps.	609
		<hr/>

106 *Masulipatam to Madras* 23 October 1762. *Milit. Cons.* November Vol 48. pp. 111—2—5.

107 *Ibid*

108 A *Katti* is a measure of land containing about 14 acres. See Wilson's Glossary (s. v.)

109 *Khandi* corruptly called candy, varies in different localities. A Madras *khandi* of 20 maunds weighs 500 lbs. (*Ibid*)

110 *Kunta* is a land measure containing 1089 square feet according to one statement and 19,600 sq. feet according to another, the later computation making it a 32nd part of a *katti*. (*Ibid*) The present writer's personal knowledge of conditions in the Sarkar confirms the latter statement. A *kunta* is loosely used for half an acre by the Andhra people.

II. *Gudivada Division (65 towns).*

4 towns completely destroyed.

13 „ in a ruined condition.

48 „ ploughed for 70 *kattis* (980 acres) but seed was available for only 50 *kattis* (700 acres) estimated to produce 200 candies of *jonnalū* at 4 candies per *katti*. The inhabitants' share of 110 candies left the government a margin of 90 candies which would produce at 7 Star Pagodas per candy ... S. Ps. 630

Again, 33 *kattis* (462 acres) were estimated to produce 165 candies of paddy. The inhabitants' share of 90 candies left the government 75 candies which would fetch ... 450

100 *kuntas* of tobacco would produce ... 225

6 Brahmini villages ... 90

Quit rent ... 80

juncan ... 130

Total, Gudivada Division ... S. Ps. 1,605

III. *Tulley (Talagadadevi or Tallapalem)*¹¹¹ *Division, (22 towns and 4 islands).*

18 towns in ruin.

4 „ ploughed for $8\frac{1}{4}$ *kattis* ($115\frac{1}{2}$ acres) would produce 18 candies of paddy. The inhabitants' share of produce calculated at 10 candies would leave the government 8 candies estimated at 6

S.Ps. a candy. ... S.Ps. 48

Paddy seeds remaining on hand ... 40

Quit rent. ... 150

Juncan ... 30

Kunkudukayalu (soap nut) ... 10

Total Tulley Division. S.Ps. 278

¹¹¹ In the Bandar taluk of the Kistna District.

IV. *Kaldindi Division*¹¹² (34 towns).

8 towns under Venkataramaraju.				
6 „ in ruin.				
20 „ ploughed for only $4\frac{1}{2}$ kattis (63 acres)				
would produce $15\frac{1}{2}$ candies. A 50%				
share to the inhabitants would leave $7\frac{3}{4}$				
candies to the government which would				
produce.	...	...	S.Ps.	46 18
Quit rent.	...	...		160 0
<i>Kunkudukayalu.</i>	...	...		50 0
<i>Brahmani villages.</i>	...	...		27 0
Salt revenue	...	...		1,500 0
Total Kaldindi Division			S.Ps.	1,783 18
Grand Total of Vinnakota <i>pargana</i>			S.Ps.	4,275

This analysis of the Vinnakota *pargana* is extremely interesting. In the first place, it clearly demonstrates the havoc caused by Hussain Ali's maladministration. Next, it shows that the cultivator's share of the gross produce was never below 50 per cent. Thirdly, it reveals the fact, of great importance to the student of revenue history, that at a time when irrigational facilities were far from being existent, dry crops never produced more than one-fourth of a candy and wet crops never more than one-third of a candy per acre. Contrasted with this, modern experience shows that an average acre of land in the Sarkars can easily produce more than four times this produce; while in areas where two crops are raised the improvement is really more than 700 per cent. This, of course is the tale of the vast benefits that accrued from the irrigational policy of the Company which was inaugurated during the nineties of the eighteenth century. Lastly, *juncan* and salt accounted for a large charge of revenues at this time, while tobacco, quit rent and other items provided further revenues.

Abdul Rahman's deputyship lasted for a period of eighteen months. Nizam Ali appointed him to this important office under the impression that as former *vakshi* or pay-master to Hussain Ali, he was well qualified to manage revenue affairs in the Sarkars.¹¹³ Rahman

¹¹² In the Bandar *taluk* of the Kistna District.

¹¹³ Nizam Ali to Masulipatam in Masulipatam to Madras 23 December 1762 Milit. Cons. 16 January 1763. Vol. 49 pp 1-3. Nizam Ali also communicated direct with the Madras Government. See *Country Correspondence* No. 43 for 1763. Milit Cons. 21 February 1763. *Idem* p. 63.

Deputyship of Abdul
Rahman: November 1762
to April 1764.

immediately set out to Peddapuram in the East Godavari District where several of the zamindars paid him nominal homage.¹¹⁴ But the family disputes of the Peddapuram zamindary threw revenue affairs into great confusion and kept him there for a considerable length of time in a fruitless attempt to restore order.¹¹⁵ Meanwhile, Pybus had started negotiations with him for the liquidation of the debt due from Hussain Ali in respect of the expenses of the military detachment sent to Hussain Ali's assistance and for which he (Rahman) had been held responsible as the holder of the office of *naib* "from the great consequence it must be to (Rahman) to get possession of Rajahmundry,¹¹⁶ or rather to get our troops removed from thence, as his influence and authority in the country depend wholly upon it, for the greatest part of the zamindars will neither pay him money or obedience so long as we kaap (a) footing there, from a doubt whether or no Hussain Ally may not be able, through our means, to obtain grants from Nizam Ally for the management of the countries again."¹¹⁷ After tedious negotiations, Rahman paid the amount of money in question and the fort of Rajahmundry was delivered over to him. Pybus then entered into a military alliance with Rahman on the lines of the former agreement between the Madras government and Hussain Ali,¹¹⁸ but Madras repudiated this arrangement and recalled their troops at the end of the two months allocated for the complete evacuation of the Sarkars.¹¹⁹ The withdrawal of the Company's protecting hand had a contrary effect to what the Masulipatam Council expected would be the result of the handing over of the fort of Rajahmundry to Abdul Rahman. Sitaramarazu seized his opportunity with remarkable shrewdness,¹²⁰ and immediately occupied Rajahmundry, while attempting to collect what revenues he could. Rahman Khan withdrew before Sitaramaraju and sought the protection of the Chief of Masulipatam. Thus ended the *naibship* of Abdul Rahman in April 1764, after he had held the revenue administration for a year and a half

114 *David Blake to Masulipatam*. Rajahmundry, 16 January in *Masulipatam to Madras*, 18 January *Milit. Cons.* 31 January. *Idem* pp. 27-28. See also *same to same* 19 and 24 January. *Idem* 28-30. Blake had been sent with a party to the aid of Cosby's detachment stationed at Rajahmundry.

115 *Masulipatam to Madras*. 10 February *Idem* 21 February *Idem* pp. 63-67.

116 The Madras government persisted in holding Rajahmundry until this debt of Rs. 1,50,000 was paid.

117 *Masulipatam to Madras* 21 February 1763 *Milit. Cons.* 28 February Vol. 49 pp. 99-103.

118 *Masulipatam to Madras* 18 March *Milit. Cons.* 28 March Vol. 49 pp. 158-60.

119 *Madras to Masulipatam* 28 March *idem* pp. 165-66.

120 One of the servants of the Company used the happy phrase of an "aspi. ing genius" with respect to the general character of Sitaramaraju.

with the most disastrous consequences to the country. We have no statements showing the amounts of revenue collected by him or by Sitarama-Raju at this time.¹²¹

From April to December there was no government at all in the Sarkars. Sitarama Razu who crossed the Godavari and coerced the Mugala~~pur~~urru raja who was a renter of some of the Company's home farms under Masulipatam was only tentatively recalled to the Chicacole Sarkar for the reduction of Samalkota which occupied him for full seven months. Hussian Ali, Abdul Rahman and Fateh-ud-Din Mahomed remained powerless and resided at Masulipatam. The negotiations of Jogi Pantulu at Hyderabad for the cession of the Sarkars ended in failure. But, after a period of utter lethargy the weakness in the Councils of Nizam Ali resulted in the second appointment of Hussian Ali to the office of *naib*.

Hussian Ali's second period of office extended from December 1764 to April 1766. It is here important to note the implications of the titles attached to his office. He was appointed *manager* of the revenues of the Chicacole and Rajahmundry Sarkars and *Amildar* of the Ellore and Mustafanagar Sarkars.¹²² This distinction between the two phases of his activity is significant. Since Sitarama-Razu had been exercising effective sway over two former Sarkars, Hussian Ali could only hope at best to induce him to pay an agreed tribute. But the Sarkars of Ellore and Mustafanagar were to be directly administered by officers selected by Hussain Ali himself.

Once again, the Company's military strength was placed at Hussain Ali's disposal. But, he was forced to recognise and countenance the advice of the Chief of Masulipatam. He entered into an agreement with the Madras government, undertaking to defray the expenses of the garrisons stationed at various centres in the Sarkars and of the special *sibbandi* corps put at his command for the collection of the revenues. He forthwith delivered tips on certain parganas as a guarantee of good faith, and also vested the chief of Masulipatam with the right to realise them.¹²³

Mortgage of the
Revenues of the
Sarkars.

¹²¹ The Military aspect of these transactions has already been touched upon in the first chapter.

¹²² *Milit. Cons.* 25 February 1765. Vol. 52 pp. 153—54.

This distinction in style was first mentioned in this consultation even though the fact that Hussain Ali's agreement with the President had been referred to in consultation of 20 February.

¹²³ *Milit. Cons.* 20 February 1765. Vol. 52. pp. 133—138.

Devarakota (Kistna District)	Rs. 1,00,000
Mugalaturru (W. Godavari District)	1,50,000
Rajahmundry (E. Godavari District)	1,50,000
Chicacole (Vizagapatam and Ganjam Districts)	1,00,000

But since Robert Palk, who concluded this agreement, was unwilling to accept the tip on Chicacole, where Sitarama Razu's influence might be a bar for its realisation, Hussain Ali substituted another on the Rajahmundry Sarkar. Likewise the loan of five lakhs of Rupees which Hussain Ali has obtained from the Nawab of Arcot mainly through the good offices of President Pigot, and which he has used to obtain his reinstatement as the Nizam Ali *naib*, was secured by tips on the following Sarkars.¹²⁴

Ellore and Mustafanagar.	Rs. 1,50,000
Rajahmundry	2,00,000
Chicacole	1,50,000

Thus it will be seen that a revenue of ten lakhs of rupees was mortgaged to the Company and the Nawab of Arcot by this greedy deputy whose main object was his reinstatement and personal profit, even at a time when cultivation had been paralyzed and the country exposed to the worst effects of anarchy.

The responsibility of the Madras government in the Sarkars was mainly confined to the supply of military assistance to Hussain Ali and the Chief of Masulipatam was directed "not to interfere in any respect in the Phousdar's management with the Jemmidars."¹²⁵ This left

Lax administration. Hussain Ali to ravage the country. He at once proceeded against the raja of Devarakota who had beaten him on a former occasion, and took possession of his *pargana*. As nothing could be expected from the Rajahmundry Sarkar, he revoked his former *tips* on this Sarkar, borrowed heavily and furnished fresh *sahukar* bills instead.¹²⁶ He then marched to Rajahmundry in order to settle with the zamindars of the Ellore and Mustafanagar Sarkars, but was much obstructed by the strong garrison which Sitarama Razu had at Rajahmundry.¹²⁷ Even though Madras sent him additional assistance,¹²⁸ his dilatoriness and incapacity lost him this opportunity of establishing his power. We are told that the

¹²⁴ *Idem* 25 February 1765. Vol. 52 pp. 153—54.

¹²⁵ *Madras to Masulipatam* 16 March. *Idem*. pp. 223—34

¹²⁶ *Madras to Masulipatam* 27 March 1765. *Milit. Cons.* 8 April Vol. 52 pp. 271—74. The fact that Hussain Ali occupied the fort of Challapalli was communicated in same to same 9 April *Idem* 22 April *Idem*. pp. 327—29.

¹²⁷ *Same to same* 9 April. *Idem*. pp. 327—29

¹²⁸ *Madras to Masulipatam*. 23 April *Idem*. p. 343

Company's "not being in possession of the fort is entirely owing to the dilatory proceedings of (Hussain Ali, who had) squandered a whole month in traversing the country treating with petty fellows whom he had nothing to hope or fear from, which had given (Sitarama Razu time to fortify himself and to be prepared for our arrival."¹²⁹ The Madras government endeavoured to persuade Sitarama Razu to quit the fort of Rajahmundry and to bring him to terms with Hussain Ali for the Chicacole Sarkar.¹³⁰ Sitarama Razu evacuated the place and retired to Chicacole, but a settlement with him was temporarily deferred on the receipt of news about the expected *sanads* from Shah Alam"¹³¹

From May till October 1765, the normal revenue machinery remained at a stand-still.¹³² To add to the prevailing confusion, Nizam Ali marched into the Sarkars to collect the accumulated balances due from Hussain Ali and Sitaramarazu. The embarrassment of the Madras government, the unsuccessful negotiations of Jogi Pantulu, the inability of Hussain Ali to pay his arrears and the reluctance of Sitaramarazu to recognise any authority, have already been mentioned in the previous chapter. On 12 October 1765 Madras received *sanads* from Shah Alam and a new orientation had thus been given to the revenue policy of the Government.

Towards the close of October Sitaramaraju entered into an agreement with the chief of Masulipatam according to which he delivered *sahukar* security for Rs. 5,00,000 at which the tribute for the Chicacole Sarkar had been fixed and for Rs. 1,23,000 on account of the expedition and the garrison charges which the Madras Government had incurred while endeavouring to dislodge him from Rajahmundry.¹³³ As to Hussain Ali, he refused to accept any commutation of the rights of his office for a personal *jagir* which the Madras government had been keen on securing. The last phase of the second period of Hussain Ali's office as the *naib*

¹²⁹ Capt. Madge to Masulipatam. camp near Rajahmundry, 3 May *idem* 14 May *idem* p. 422-27.

¹³⁰ Madras to Masulipatam 22 May *idem* pp. 462-63.

Madras also wrote home "This affair is attended with no small difficulty as the demands of the Subah has on Seataramranze are much beyond his power to discharge". Madras Letter Received 14 October 1765 (Palk) para. 23. Vol. II.

¹³¹ Capt. Madge to Masulipatam, camp near Rajahmundry, 14 May 1765. Milit. Cons. 24 May. Vol. 52. p. 468.

¹³² Milit. Cons. 24 May *idem* pp. 466-67.

¹³³ Pybus to Madras 20 December *idem* 5 January 1766 Vol. 57 pp. 2-5.

For the sake of convenience, I will deal with the policy pursued by the Madras government in regard to Sitarama Razu, in the Chapter on Cobford's settlement of the Chicacole sarkar.

of Nizam Ali may be summed up as follows. He allowed "one-third part of the produce of the country (to be) swallowed up by his inconsiderable (sic) and extravagant expenses for maintaining a useless body of troops". Of the revenues for 1765, estimated at Madras Pagodas 6,41,444, an amount of M.Ps. 2,09,272 still remained uncollected. His debts to people other than the Company amounted to M.Ps. 2,30,152. As regards the balances due from him, even allowing for the probable collection of the *sahukar* bills which he gave to the Madras government, M.Ps. 20,880 were unsecured.¹³⁴

The Madras government could tolerate this want of government in the Sarkars no longer. They had in their possession *sanads* from Shah Alam, granting them the right to possess and enjoy (however illusory that right might be) the revenues of the Sarkars. Conditions in the Sarkars were so chaotic and the authority of Nizam Ali so ineffective, that any careful attempt to obtain control was sure to be attended with success. Hence, they recorded: "It being absolutely necessary that measures should be taken for paying off Hussain Ally's arrears to his troops and his debts to the Nabob, and others and which otherwise in the end be discharged out of the revenues of the countries, as they have been contracted on the credit of his renting them for a certain term of years and the longer he continues in the management of them the greater will be the difficulty of bringing about this measure".¹³⁵ Hussain Ali readily recognised the benefits to be derived from an arrangement with the Madras government, especially in view of the fact that his position in the Sarkars had turned out to be more and more untenable and as he was sure to be visited, sooner or later, with the wrath of the Nizam's government. He immediately handed over the charge of the Sarkars to Gen-Caillaud and John Pybus, who had been specially deputed by the Madras government to negotiate with Nizam Ali for the cession of the Sarkars.¹³⁶ The two commissioners took vigorous measures to restore order in the country and to reduce the debts of Hussain Ali. Within the space of one month (April 1766) the revenue position in the Sarkars substantially altered. Hussain Ali's debts had been reduced to a ninth (M. Ps. 45,676) while his claims on the Sarkars

¹³⁴ *Caillaud and Pybus to Madras* 26 February 1766 *Milit. Cons.* 3 March Vol. 57 pp. 51-55, and the enclosures thereto pp. 56-64.

¹³⁵ *Milit. Cons.* 3 March 1766. Vol. 57. p. 69 and *Madras to Caillaud and Pybus*, 12 March *Idem.* pp. 71-72. See also *Madras Letters Received*, 7 April 1766, (Palk) para. 16, vol. II.

¹³⁶ *Caillaud and Pybus to Madras*, 29 March, *Milit. Cons.* 3 April. Vol. 57, pp. 84-88.

stood at a seventh (M. Ps. 28,944) of what they had been when he was deputy in his own rights. By June 1766, balances on account of Hussain Ali's *tips* on the zamindars were reduced from M. Ps. 1,95,460 in April to M. Ps. 24,759.¹³⁷ A personal *jagir* consisting of Tatipata and Purur was conferred upon him which he was to enjoy during good behaviour, "As a further encouragement...and to give him the greater weight" he was also granted the rent of Vallur, Duvva and Eelakota.¹³⁸ Military expenses were henceforward charged to the revenues of the Sarkars instead of to "Expenses on account of the Northern Circars", which indicates that the Madras government had acquired the rights to administer the country on their own account.¹³⁹

While negotiations with Nizam Ali were still nebulous, the Madras government undertook the important task of putting the revenue business of the Sarkars on a sound basis. In a lengthy minute, they declared: "It is obvious that the annual revenue derived from these provinces is far short of their real value. But, although the evil is known and acknowledged, the remedy is a work of time. The weakness, corruption and rapacity of the Moors have increased and encouraged the abuse, the natural consequence of principles so destructive to order and industry from the fluctuating state of their government, having no time to wait for the gradual increase of benefits arising from a well-ordered administration. They have for present convenience suffered these provinces to remain in the hands of a number of petty Rajahs or Jemidars...who are allowed to govern their separate districts: and thus they have formed themselves into little independent governments. All these several districts are set down in the books of the government at an assessment very far short of their real value. But when the time for settling comes, the manager agrees with the several Jemidars and adds to what they stand rated at in the books, fifty, seventy-five and sometimes hundred per cent more; and this is termed a present to government. Notwithstanding this, the Jemidar is still capable, from the profits of his district, to support a kind of State and to spend or lay up a third, perhaps as much as what he pays. The several Jemidars have the plea of hereditary right unto the government in their respective districts which have continued in the same families (for) a series of generations. Besides grants and Jagheers

¹³⁷ *Masulipatam to Madras* 8 June, *Milit. Cons.* 16 June. Vol. 57, pp. 177—181.

¹³⁸ *Madras to Caillaud and Pybus. Milit. Cons.* 20 June 1766. Vol. 57, pp. 184—185. This important *kaul* is transcribed in Appendix "B" to this thesis.

¹³⁹ *Masulipatam to Madras* 1 March. *Milit. Cons.* 8 May *Idem.* pp. 153—56, and *Madras to Masulipatam* 8 May. *Idem* pp. 160—61.

which they claim as their own, *what they have a right to, they should enjoy*.¹⁴⁰ But, at the same time their power should be limited...In short no armed force should be allowed to exist in the hands of any power subordinate to that in which the Sovereign rule is lodged".¹⁴¹

This declaration formed the basis of the instructions sent to General Caillaud and John Pybus who were entrusted with the settlement of the revenue affairs with the zamindars of Rajahmundry, Ellore and Mustafanagar who were specially summoned to Ellore for this purpose.¹⁴² According to the agreement concluded in September 1766, the zamindars promised jointly and severally mutual assistance to and friendship with the Company: to place their troops at the disposal of General Caillaud and march them to whatever place they were required to be sent; to supply provisions to the Company's troops and pass them free of duty through their respective territories; and, to furnish all available information of military interest to the Company. In consideration of this undertaking of the Zamindars, "the Company will protect and favour them in all their just rights and privileges, and will defend them at all times and on all occasions".¹⁴³

After this important agreement, while the negotiation with Nizam Ali were still unfinished, Caillaud and Charles Smith, who now succeeded Pybus as chief of Masulipatam, faced the formidable problem of a satisfactory revenue settlement. They found it hard to decide the important issue whether or not direct management based on agreements with individual zamindars and renters was superior to entrusting the revenue business to a single renter. They concluded that owing to the want of a knowledge of Telugu, the language of the Sarkars, "all concerns.....must of course be entrusted to their Dubashes, from whom they must receive all their knowledge and information and to whose abilities, truth, honesty and discretion they must trust to guide them in their dealings with the people of the country."¹⁴⁴

140 The italics are mine.

141 *Milit. Cons.* 23 June 1766 Vol. 57 pp. 186-87. This declaration is echoed in the instructions of the Court of Directors who wrote: "What we have said implies a confidence in you that the Rajahs, Zemindars and every other inhabitant will be protected in the possession of their just and hereditary rights". See *Madras Dispatches*, 4 March 1767 para 12 Vol. III p. 582.

142 *Madras to Caillaud and Pybus Milit. Cons.* 24 June Vol. 57 p. 203 and also *Madras to Caillaud* 1 August *idem* pp. 208-09.

143 *Caillaud to Madras*, Ellore, 1 September. *Milit. Cons.* 9 September pp. 265-67. The Articles of Agreement dated, Ellore, 23 August are to be found on pp. 267-78

See also *Madras Letters Received*, 22 January 1767 (further letter) (Palk) para 46, Vol. II.

The Agreement is quoted as Appendix "C" to this thesis.

144 *Caillaud and Smith to Madras. Masulipatam*, 12 October. *Milit. Cons.* 20 October. Vol. 57, 306-10

OUR KAILASA YATRA. *

BRAHMACHIARI PRANAVANANDAJI.

A Portion of the Sixth Chapter.

Kailasa Taranga.

Tarchan is the place wherefrom pilgrims generally begin this Kailasa Parikrama (కైలాస పరిక్రమ or కైలాసపర్వతక్షణం) and end it again here. But several guides from Gyanimamandi, for the sake of convenience, take the pilgrims direct to Nandi gumpa first and finish the parikrama at Tarchan. By so doing they are preventing the ignorant pilgrims from enjoying the trip round the Kailas from Tarchan to Nandi gumpa.

Kailasa is a big range of mountains extending from one end of our country to the other—from the North of Kashmir to far beyond the eastern extremity of Nepal. In the midst of that mighty range, situated in western Tibet is the perpetual snow-clad holy peak of Kailas of hoary antiquity, with a group of smaller peaks or mountains around it. It is this whole group that is generally called Kailasa Parvat (కైలాసపర్వతం). As the Kailasa peak cannot be singled out for circumambulation, pilgrims do the parikrama of the whole group, which is about 32 miles according to my calculation. The height of Kailas peak itself is 22,028 feet above the sea level.

After taking tea and sattv we left Tarchan for Kailas parikrama. We began the circuit from a height of 15,100 feet. For two and half

* This is taken from "Our Kailasa Yatra" by Brahmachari Pranavanandaji, a disciple of His Holiness Swami Jnananandji Maharaj. The journey covers about 1600 miles, beginning from Srinagar in Kashmir to Mount Kailas via Ladhak and Western Tibet and back to Kashmir again via Manassarovar, Khojarnath, Nitipass, Joshinath, Badrinath Tunganath, Kedarnath etc. Sri Pranavaanandaji was accompanied by Brahmachari Mahashankarji Maharaj. A detailed and minute description of all the Holy places of the Himalayas is found here with due regard being paid for the spiritual vibration of each place. This includes the adventures and heroic travels of the author. Some two hundred photos, two maps and two indices also accompany this work which is not yet published. This work of 560 Manuscript Folio pages is interesting from various points of view, Spiritual, Historical, Geographical, Topographical, Literary etc. and reads like a novel.

EDITOR.

miles we had a very gentle ascent, during which we crossed more than twenty five dried up streams. During the early summer all these nalas¹ (నాల) would be full of water, flowing furiously, by the melting snow above. Here we came across several manewalls and lapchas. Hundreds of sheep and yaks were grazing on the mountain slopes on our right-hand side. Then the road took a rightward turn towards the north or north-west. Though there was a little sun when we started, it has become cloudy now. Down below on our left hand side, at the foot of a hill, several black tents were seen. A little beyond the tents flows the Lhochhu, with its deep blue water coming from Testila and Diraphuk. The place where these black tents are seen is called Saryung or Sargung. Some Bhotia merchants were seen going from one black tent to another buying wool. Dogs were busy barking at the very sight of the strangers even though they be at a great distance. Some tents were pitched on the otherside (right bank) of the Lhochhu. Three quarters of a mile's walk in the valley took us to the place called Tachom Ngangya (తాచోమ్ నాంగ్యా) situated on the right side of the road. There is a hut here. A little above on the rock, is the cremation ground where the corpses of the dead persons are burnt or interned. We proceeded along the left bank of the Lhochhu for about half a mile. In front of us on the right bank of the Lhochhu is a mighty fort having a grand architecture of Viswakarma. What is it? It is the magnificent Nandi mountain, artistically and beautifully worn out by several torrents coming from above by the melting snow in early summer. This grand mountain does not fail to invite the attention of even the most casual wayfarer, even from Saryung. Nandi gumpa is situated in the middle of this mountain like a bird's nest in the mighty fort of Nandi. The river is flowing here in two branches. There is a bridge on the main branch and the bridge on the other is washed away. We crossed the river to the other side to the fort of the Nandi mountain. The gumpa is situated at an elevation of about 400 feet above the level of the Lhochhu. The ascent to the gumpa is nearly half a mile. On the way leading to the gumpa are some chhortens and manewalls. A big torrent is coming from the top of the mountain on the left-hand side of the way. As we proceed towards the gumpa it appears as if the projecting portion of the mountain above would just fall upon the gumpa and bury it for ever under it. Afterwards we heard that actually a spur of the rock had fallen down and destroyed a portion of the gumpa some years back. Now we are in front of the Nandi gumpa or Nyandi or Chhuku (నందిగంపా or నాన్ది or ఛుకు). This is the first monastery of Kailas.

1 Nala = a stream or a canal.

We got up a few steps and reached the first storey of the gompa. Here is the kitchen of the monastery with a big hearth about a yard high and five feet long. Fire was vigorously burning in it. Tea and Thogpa² were being prepared in big vessels for some of the lama visitors, who were telling their prayers in the gompa above. An old lady was in charge of the kitchen. The kitchen was very warm, as in the vicinity of a big boiler. Some of the visitors also are invited for tea. The visitors in return give some presents to the gompa. Seats are arranged on two sides of the hearth adjacent to the walls of the room. Woolen cushions are arranged on the seats and small low platforms are constructed in front of them for placing tea cups. There are two or three square holes in the terran for the smoke to go out and to serve as ventilators. We went up to the second storey where the Lhakhang [ལྷ་ཁང་] or the image hall was situated. Just at the entrance on the righthand side is a wooden partition. The hall is supported by nine pillars, all painted in blue and green and is about 20 feet square. In the centre of the hall is a raised seat on which is kept the idol of Amideva [ཨམིཌཌཌ] or Amitabha [ཨམིཌཌཌ]. Some say that it is the idol of Hallsen, the God of Kailas and Manasarovar, clothed in laced silk. Several butter lamps are burning in front of it. There are some silv cups full of water, with raised seats. In front of the platform are two big tusks of an elephant. They are each a yard and a quarter in length and nearly half a yard in circumference at their stout ends. These tusks called chu-va (ཡུ་བ) or Langchen—Sala—Raptan, are placed adjacent to two pillars supporting the gompa. There are two Japan made fans on either side of Amideva who is said to be the first incarnation of Buddha. There are beautiful canopies over the idol of Amideva and over the seats of the Lamas. While entering the image hall on the left are some beautiful idols of apotheosised lamas with red turbans on and also of Buddha and Mahakali, all kept on a raised platform. In front of each idol are kept seven brass cups full of water. Behind the seat of Amideva are the shelves of the library containing the folios of Kanjur³ [ཀུན་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་]. On the right hand side are kept some rations. Then comes the seat of the lamas arranged adjacent to the wall facing the idol of Amideva. In front of the lama seats are some folding tables on

2 Thogpa or Thugpa [ཐོག་པ་ or ཐུག་པ་] is a semiliquid (Tibetan) dish, that is prepared by boiling saltu and meat in water or buttermilk and spices, salt, and some butter added to it. Please do not forget that our Thogpa consisted of buttermilk, saltu, and spices only.

3 Kanjur is the Tibetan of the Pali Tripithaka, in 108 Volumes.

which daily reading prayer books, cymbals, damarus (దమరు), conches, and few other worshipping materials are kept. The prayer drum is kept on a stand and at the same time hanging from above. Lhasa painted pictures are hanging on the pillars and around the canopies. There are three permanent lamas in this gompa and ranks first, of all the Kailas gompas in income.

In an antichamber there is a big military store of guns, swords, and wooden and bathern shields with iron bosses. Just near the right side of the image hall there is another gate leading to a big open terrace above, below which is the kitchen. From here a fine view of Kailas can be had. It was cloudy; yet we could see the magnificent Kailas playing hide and seek with the hovering clouds. As the day was cloudy I was taking the photo of the Kailas peak, whenever a portion of it was unveiled. There is a nice cabin like enclosure on this terrace over Amedeva's seat. All the four boarder planks of the top of this cabin are embossed with gilded letters of the manimantra⁴ or some scriptural writings. On the top of the enclosure is placed a gilded Kalasa (కలశ). On the four corners of the top of this enclosure are four cylinder like representations covered with black and white clothes. These representations are meant to scare away the evil spirits from approaching the gompa. There are four more gilded kalasas over these four cylinderlike representations. There is a path above the gompa for the pilgrims to make a parikrama to the monastery. Throughout the Buddhistic country it is an established custom, to keep to the left while passing by the side of any holy spot such as a monastery, a mane wall, a chhorted or a lapcha or a tarchok. That is to say the holy place is always to be on the right hand side of the person, in order that he may be on a savya pradakshina (సవ్యప్రదక్షిణ) in the clockwise direction.

Adjacent to the kitchen, there is another room intended for travellers. Some pilgrims were seen giving their presents to some Lhasa bound lamas both in coin and in the form of clothes, and in return they are receiving blessings and some talismans from the lamas. I also had a share of exchanging of presents and blessings. My flowing hair and beard attracted the notice of some of the more enthusiastic pilgrims. We were at first given two handfuls of a superior and a peculiar type of home made Tibetan country sattu and then I was requested with folded hands, with all humility and reverence, to give them each a hair of mine after enchanting it. I could not deny their simple request. I pulled out a hair, put it in my left hand, covered it with the

4 Om manipadmehum. (ఓంమనిపద్మేహమ్)



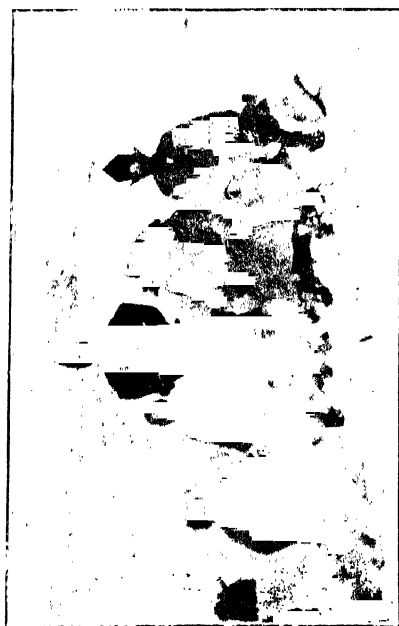
Sree Swami Jnānānandaji.



Breaking ice to reach the water inside.



The Tibetan family of Hosts with a Girl.



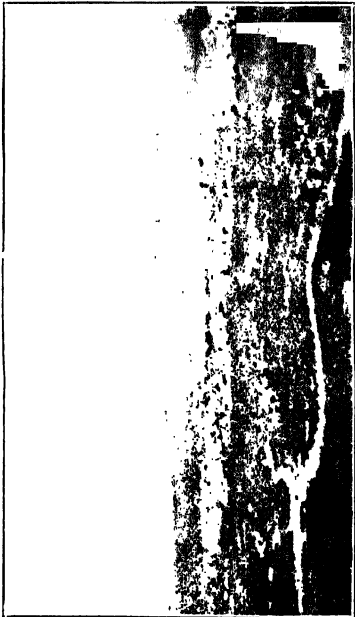
A group of six Tibetan Buddhist Lāmas.



The Kailas peak behind two big peaks.



The Kailas peak with ice melting.



Gyānimākandī.



Nadi gumpa or chūpa monastery.

right; chanted it for a few seconds, and then gave it to one pilgrim then a second and a third. Fortunately, the rest of the pilgrims had left that place, otherwise I would have been in a great crisis in pulling out all my hair. The innocent pilgrims considered my hair as dispeller of all evils and evil spirits and as a token of blessings and honour, as having come from the hands of a big Kasi Lama (ཀུས་ལ་མ་). Buddhist sadhus are called lamas; so they call Hindu sadhus Kasi Lamas.

After taking tea we left Nandi gumpa by the path running above the gumpa, as was the custom of the place, in the company of five Lhasa bound lamas. They were coming from Kullu and were on the Kailasa Parikrama. We descended the Nandi mountain on a steep slippery descent for a mile to the bank of the Lhochhu. On the left bank of the river are the steep, sky-kissing walls of the Kailasa parvat and on our left hand side also are the steep walls of the Nandi mountains or their continuation. Kailas peak is lost to sight now. Again now and then the top of Kailas becomes visible partially from under the clouds. The mountains on either side of the narrow valley present a grand and a magnificent sight with hundreds of torrents falling from the high mountains. Often wind would curve the course of these torrents and sometimes raise them into the air and spread into mighty fans or the severe wind would disturb the whole torrent and carry it away into the air in minute particles, forming as it were a thick cluster of pure white clouds, thus making the torrent disappear for the time being. One or two such torrents were falling from a height of six or seven hundred feet. We marched on for five miles with our lama companions in ups and downs crossing several brooks and passing by several lapchas on the way. Our lama companions never failed to remove a stone from the road and place it on a lapcha. Here we met a big caravan of loaded sheep and ponies. Some men in the caravan were armed with guns, some with spears and some were on horse back. They were bound towards Testi-la5 and thence to Thok Jalung (ཐོག་ཇལུང་) gold fields via the

source of the Indus. Here we crossed the two branches of the chemolung chln(?), falling into the Lhochhu. Here the road took a rightward turn towards the east, where are a halting place and manewalls. A little further on were some more manewalls and a decent regular road leading to the gumpa, lined with stones on both the sides.

We reached Diraphuk gumpa (འུལ་ཕུག་གོང་པ་) at 5—30 P. M. It is also called Dithinphuk or Diraphu (འུལ་ཕུག་ or འུལ་ཕུག་ or འུལ་ཕུག་ or འུལ་ཕུག་) This is the second monastery of Kailasa. It is situated at the foot of a

mountain, on the right bank of the Lhochhu. The monastery must have been projected by a most skilful Tibetan engineer. This gumpa is just opposite the Kailasa peak. Just like a man peeping out of the gate, catching hold of the two side-vertical beams so also the Holy Kailas peak of hoary antiquity and celebrity, with a great mythology and legend at its back, is, as it were, peeping out conspicuously out of the mighty gate formed by two big peaks on either side, most probably to give its darsan (దర్శన) to the eager minded pilgrims, who go there to pay their

respects to it and also perhaps to see how his neighbours — the inmates of the gumpa — are faring. It may be also due to this, that it wants to show itself in all nakedness to its Bhaktas in a solitary corner (north western corner of the Kailas mountain). So it is that it is seen so prominently here, but not from other places. And yet the Kailas is not naked as one may lightly think of. It is clad in perpetual white sheets of old ice, how old, it only knows. It is an emblem of all purity. So its clothes also are white, jasmine white, brilliant white, glittering, dazzling white, blinding white like an archlight, whiter than every thing else that is white. It is rightly and aptly called Rajita-chal (రజితచలం), silver mountain, shining like a cut bar of pure silver.

Oh! Its grandeur, its beauty, its magnificence, its charm, above all the wonderful vibration that is prevailing here — I burst into tears — I can not adequately describe it — I am lost in myself — I fear I may not mar the real beauty by meagre and inadequate description of it. It is scrupulously clean. It very often changes its upper garments, for, a big belt of ice from the middle of the peak falls precipitously down every now and then. It is perhaps due to the fact that it does not like to be polluted by the unholy feet of any mortal being. So it is that none make even an attempt to go up the peak. It does not deprive the ordinary wayfarer on the southern side to have its darsan. From the southern side also (of the peak proper) the sight is not less imposing. The Kachha (కచ్చ) of its dhoti (ధోవతీ) is to be prominently seen on the southern side from Seralung gumpa (the fifth monastery of Kailasa), for on this side, a big sheet of ice falls down headlong from top to foot giving the appearance of a mighty ladder, arranged perhaps, for the mythological God Sankara to get up to the top, for, Siva is described in puranas, as Kailasapati (కైలాసపతి) sitting on the top of the Kailas peak. This holy peak of Kailas is tetrahedronal in shape (a tetrahedron is a four sided solid figure, with a triangle as base and three triangles as sides) having a height of 22,028 feet, soaring high into the sky. as if to facilitate the God Siva to have a talk with his coworker, Vishnu, sitting in Vaikunta on the sky. Some times it presents the appearance

of a huge heap of shali (శాలి, పెద్దనాశ్యపురాణి). The Kailas peak appears like a mighty Sivalinga (శివలింగా), set on a yoni or pranali, with a belt of Tripundra (త్రిపుండ్ర) all round and from top to foot on the southern face, due to the curious phenomena of falling ice. The grandeur of the Kailas peak from Diraphuk gompa is all the more prominent on account of the two neighbouring peaks through which it peeps out being naked—unclothed with ice like Kailas. Sometimes it makes fun of the ignorant pilgrims for it completely hides itself behind the clouds and makes the pilgrims believe that Kailas has disappeared somewhere. So the lamas, who know how to please the Kailasapati, take out their damarus and conches (డమర & శంఖం). On hearing his favourite music, Kailasapati orders the clouds to disperse, so that the pilgrims may have a darsan of the Kailas. Not only this, the Kailas wants a big mirror to look into the beauty of its mighty face and that of Siva on its top, every now and then. So it has got Lhochhu flowing at its foot. Perhaps the water in this river is not sufficient to reflect the face of the invisible Siva above, so he has invited for a small brook from Dolma side. This is in all probability due to another reason also. The glaciers near Dolma send forth water to Gourikund that is on the other side of Dolmala. So Kailasapati wants to have an equal share (of water from Dolma) with his Arthangi Gouri (అర్థాంగిగౌరి), to supplement the Lhochhu near Diraphuk.

I call the Kailas, the Holy Kailas peak, not because I believe that a corporeal Siva is sitting on its top with his beloved Parvati, but because I feel and strongly feel that the spiritual vibration of this peak is of a unique type and of a supreme order. If I may be permitted to have my own say, I would dare say that it is due to this high spiritual vibration that these holy places of Kailas and Manasarover, impress so deeply upon the minds of Hindus and Buddhists, nay, on any individual of any nationality that may come under their enrapturing influence. The aforesaid high vibration is not limited either to a point on the top of the Kailas peak or to the centre of Manasarover lake. This vibration exists alround the holy places, something like the magnetic field around a magnet. If you ask me why such a vibration exists there, I may not be able to detail you all the causes here. But I may tell you one. Besides their natural beauty, several grand Kishis and sages must have done penance here and cosequently must have left some grand vibration. But it may not be considered the only reason.

Hindus believe the Kailas peak to be the abode of Siva (the bestower of bliss) and his spouse Parvati (the darling of the Himalayas). This belief of the Hindus is not without solid foundation underlying it,

as some may imagine. For this wonderful peak is really the most bewitching and enchanting of all the peaks of the Himalayas. As such it is rightly called the abode of the beloved daughter of the Himalayas. Kailas peak is said to be the abode of Siva, for its very sight bestowes bliss and beatitude on its visitors. So in the metaphysical sense Kailas is really the abode of Siva and Parvati (nature or prakriti in its sublime beauty.)

“Buddhists believe Kailas to be in the very centre of the universe, towering erect high up into the sky like the handle of a mill stone, where half way up on its side is a great bliss bestowing tree.” They also call it by the name mount Meru (मेरुपर्वत) in their sacred books. Kailas is also described in their scriptures, as having square sides of gold and jewels. Its eastern face is crystal, the southern is sapphire; the west is ruby; and the north is gold and the peak is clothed with fragrant flowers, and shrubs. Lord Buddha with his 500 disciples is said to be residing on the top of the Kailas peak.

Kailas is called Gang Rin-po-chhe (गङ्गरीन्पोच्चे). Gang means snow or glaciers and Rin-po-chhe means gem, jewel, precious, or holiness. So kailas in Tibetan language means Holy glaciers or jewel (or gem) of all glaciers, as it is the most charming of all the snow clad peaks of the world. In Sanskrit the root meaning of the word Kailas is

- 1 कुबेरस्य स्थानकैलासः (The place of Kubera)
- 2 केलिनां समूहाः कैलेतेन आस्यते स्थायत इति कैलासः, आसउपवेशने
(Place of the dance of Siva)
- 3 केशिरसि शिवयोर्लासोन्मुत्य मन्मिन्नितिना कैलासः
(Having the dance of Siva and Parvati on the peak)
- 4 केलयोः जलभूम्योः आसनं स्थितिर्यस्य कैलासः स्पटिकं — तस्यायं कैलासः
(which is in Earth and water i. e, Sphatika.)

So the meaning of the word Kailas, in both the languages is almost the same. There is a reference or description of Kailas in both the Indian epics Ramayana⁶ and Mahabharata.

In Ladakh as well as in Tibet, if any one is to give away anything permanently, or if any one is to take an oath requiring permanency he would say, “As long as the gangs (glaciers) of Gangrinpoche (Kailas) do not melt away and as long as the waters of Tso Manang (Manasarovar) are not dried up and as long as hair does not grow on the surface of stone, so long.”

Drawn by Brahmasagari Pranasananda

TSS. Lake.

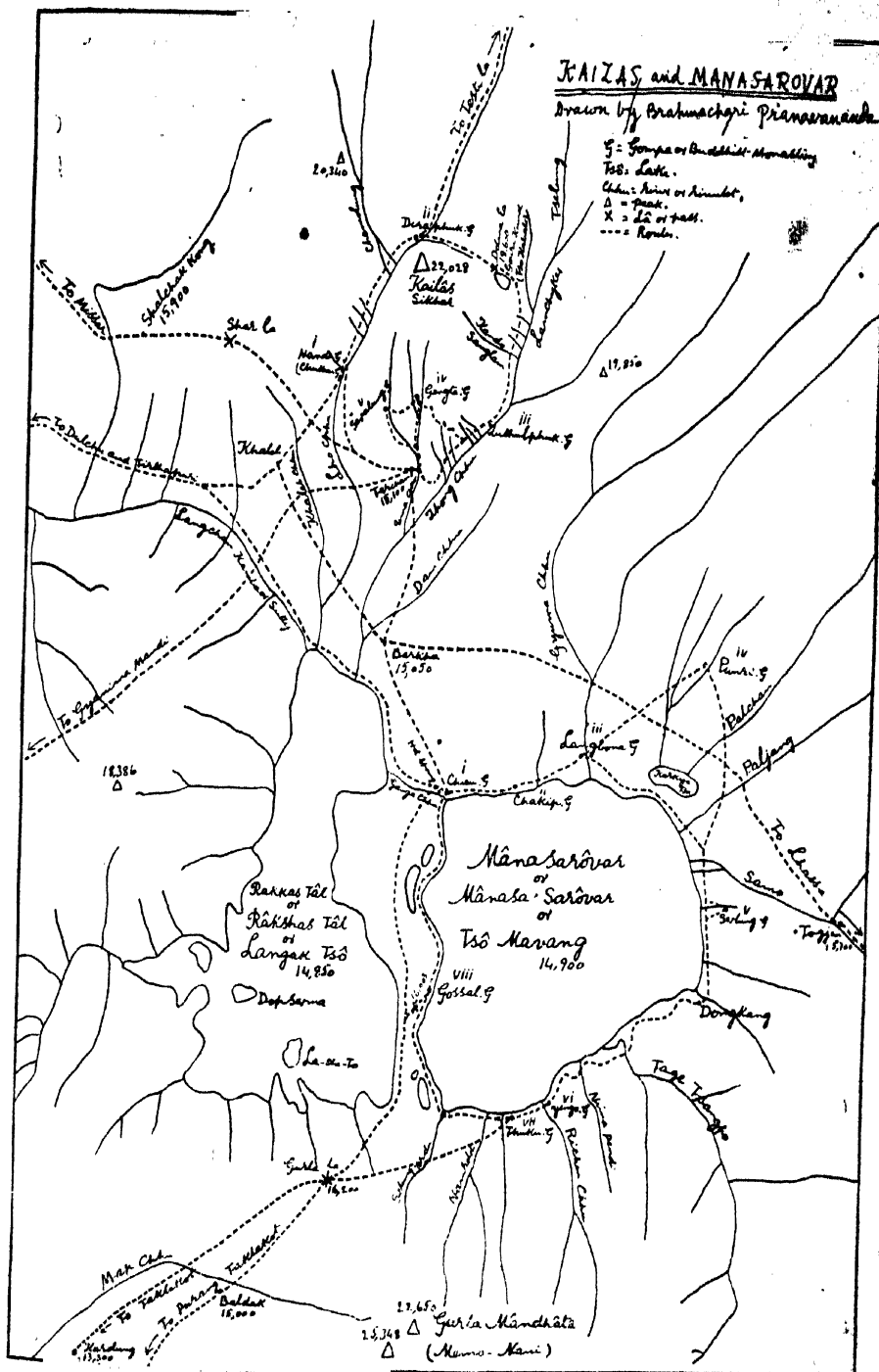
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A = Post.

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slokas daily, for the use of my daily swadhyaya. A few slokas were yet to be translated. So I sat up late in the night before the candle and finished the translation here in Diraphuk monastery, sitting facing the holy Kailasa, as I wanted to make an humble dedication of this Telugu translation of the Bhagavadgita to the Holy Lotus feet of my Master, the next day on the Gaurikund.

It has snowed heavily in the night all of a sudden, varying in depth from one foot to three feet.

Night Temperature 28°. F.

Wednesday, 29th August.

Diraphuk to Zuthulphuk 15 miles.

As though Nature was displeased with us for going there so late, previous nights' snow fall has made everything white, so that we could not make out what was there below the snow. Even the Lhochhu⁹ below was under snow. The black tents down the gompa were no more black. They were recognizable only when the inmates had come out with their wooden spades to excavate their half buried tents under snow. Dogs were strolling with lumps of snow on their backs. The yaks had been presenting a queer shape, with snow not only on their long hair but also even on their horns. We anxiously awaited the arrival of Surya-Bhagavan, so that our further journey may not prove very difficult. After taking tea we left the gompa and passed by the tents, where men were busy in digging out snow from the tents and where the dogs were busy barking at us. We did not mind their barking much and proceeded for over two furlongs and reached the Lhochhu. From here one road goes to the source of the Indus (16,945 ft) via Testila (18,465 ft) and Testi Lachen la (17,935 ft). The source of the Indus is at a distance of only three or four days' journey from Diraphuk. From the source of the Indus, the gold fields of Thog Jalung are at a distance of over 125 miles. We crossed the Lhochhu by a bridge on its left bank. Here begins the steep ascent to Dolma la. On account of fresh snow fall we could not plant our feet firmly on the ground; as such sometimes we would slip, sometimes our legs would go down up to the knee and sometimes our feet would be stuck up between two big boulders. In trying to take out the feet we would lose balance and fall flat into the ocean of loose snow, rousing the laughter of the others. Sun was shining bright, so snow began to melt and the whole path became watery rendering our further course more difficult. We could not proceed also fast. Some how we covered a distance of nearly two and a half miles. From here the Kailas peak would be out of sight. So, our lama companions stopped here, squatted on the snow facing the Kailas, to tell

⁹ Chu, A river, rivulet or stream-water.

their prayers chanting verses in a chorus and heating damarus — an imposing service indeed ! Then we proceeded on an easier road for about two furlongs. There was a pacca walled enclosure and some more walled enclosures here and there on this level ground. It seemed to be a halting place. But we could not know more about it as it was all under snow. A mane wall¹⁰ was also seen on one side.

Now began the steeper ascent of the Dolma la. The ascent was about a mile and a half. It was a very trying ascent, doubly because of fresh snow, making us stop for breath after every hundred yards. Our eyes were being pierced by the glare coming from the finely powdered glass-like snow, on account of the bright rays of the sun falling on it. There we saw some Tarchoks and lapcha.¹¹ Surely it must be the top of Dolma la (ཏོ་མ་ལ་). Now we are on the top of the Dolma la (meaning the pass of the Mother of the Saviour) having a height of 18,600 feet. Here is a big block of stone called Dolma block, the image of the mother of the Saviour (Buddha). We came to know from our Lama Companions, that we had already passed the place called Dikpa Karnak, or a test stone for sinners, at some distance below before reaching the Dolma la. It is said that pilgrims pass under that big stone from one side to the other and consider themselves free from sin. Those who are not able to pass right through the hole under the stone are considered sinners. We could not see that place as it was under snow.

From the top of the Dolma la Gourikund is seen on the other side of it. Dolma la is the highest place on the Kailasa parikrama. Then begins the descent towards the Gourikund. As far as the eye can reach there is nothing but white snow everywhere. While the lamas were engaged in their prayers near the Dolma block we got down the pass for nearly three furlongs and reached the Gourikund (ཀུ་རི་ཀུན་དུ་བཞུགས་པའི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཁོ་རྒྱུ་) called Tso Kabali (ཐོ་ཀ་བ་ལའི་) by the Tibetians. On account of the tiring ascent to the Dolma la our bodies had become sufficiently hot and had been perspiring even. Again the clouds overwhelmed the sky. I removed all my clothes and jumped into the lake to take a bath. But it was hard as stone. The whole lake was frozen up. It was said that the ice never breaks (melts) in it. At places it was covered with transparent glass like sheets of snow and at other places it was covered with white opaque snow.

10 Mane-wall. A wall constructed on the road sides, and in prominent places, having slabs of stone containing the inscription of the mane mantra, "Om mani Padme hum".

11 Lapcha. A heap of stones generally raised at the top of passes, or termination of ascents, or turn in paths leading to holy places.

Chorten. The ashes of the dead are mixed with clay and moulded into small pyramids and deposited in a somewhat pyramidal repository.

So I had to break ice to reach the water inside and then I took bath with a cup. Now I had taken out my Gita Bhashya (గీత భాష్యం) and dedicated it most respectfully at the Holy lotus feet of my Master Sreemat Sree 108 Swami Jnananandaji Maharaj. The Gourikund may be about two or three furlongs in length and about a furlong or two in breadth. Some say that the lake clears only in some patches in midsummer for a short period. The lake is somewhat skull like. So it is named Tso kabali (Tso=lake, kabali=skull) by the Tibetians. On its southern side huge avalanches slide down into it. So the exact extent of the lake could not be known. By the time B.M.M.¹² had finished his bath our lama friends also came down from the la. From here began a very steep descent. Snow fall began and we hurriedly got down and left the snow fall behind us. The descent was very steep and was full of melting snow for nearly three miles. We moved down for a short distance more to the place called Shapji-dak-thok (శాప్జి డాక్ థాక్). There is an uninhabited house and a big block of stone, on the top of which are the Shapje (శాప్జి or foot prints) of a grand lama. The stream or river Lamchyker chhu is flowing by its side. Facing the stream, adjacent to the block of stone is a cave. From here the road runs along the right bank of the Lamchyker. We proceeded through swamps on a very slippery ground. We crossed some streams now and then and after two miles we crossed a bigger stream called Kando Sanglam, rapidly flowing into the Lamchyker. After two miles further march, we left the river at a little distance and got up a small hill, where there were some manewalls. From here is seen a river coming from the distant mountains to join the Lamchyker on its left bank. At the confluence of these two rivers, situated on the left banks of both the rivers is a place called Lapche, where, are pitched some black tents, by the side of which several sheep and yaks are grazing. From this place the combined river is called Zhongchhu (జుంగ్చు). Then we proceeded for two miles more.

We passed by several mane walls and found ourselves just near the flag staff in front of the Zuthulphuk gompa (జుతుల్ఫుక్ గొంపా) before dusk fall. It is also called Jandlipu, Chudlup or Tsumtulpu.

This is the third monastery of Kailas. It is situated at the foot of a big mountain. We lighted some butter lamps here and took sattu¹³ and buttermilk. After reading Gita for some time, I was about to retire at ten. My eyes began to pain a little and then a regular shooting pain began. Eyes became heavy and water was coming out of the eyes and nose in

12. B.M.M. Brahmachary Mahasamkarji Maharaj the companion in the journey
13 Sattu. Flour of roasted barley.

torrents. Till 12 in the night I spent my time in blowing my nose and clearing my eyes. Now the pain became unbearable, as in sore-eyes, and I began to cry out till 4 in the morning, when I got a little sleep. This was all due to the dazzling light of white snow falling on the eyes throughout the day. We had left our goggles in the mandi as the merchants there asked us not to take anything with us that may attract the notice of thieves. So I had to pay a heavy penalty.

Thursday, 30th August 1928.

Zuthulphuk to Tarchan. 13 miles.

Hardly I slept for an hour. One of our lama companions came and woke us up at 5 A.M. to inform us that they were starting immediately. So we hurriedly left Zuthulphuk gompa at about 5-30 A. M. in biting cold. Hands were benumbed; stomachs were empty; and yet we had unwillingly to leave the place for further journey. We passed by some mane-walls and crossed three streams in the course of a mile's walk in the valley. From here Tarchan is about four miles by direct road. But we wanted to visit the other two monasteries of Kailas situated in the interior of Kailas parvat. We left the Zhong chhu on our left and commenced ascending a mountain for $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles followed by a descent of half a mile. Then we crossed a second mountain for about $\frac{3}{4}$ th mile. We got up again for a mile to the top of the third mountain, called Gengta la. This is the highest of the four mountains to be crossed before reaching Gengta. Here are a lapcha and a few mane slabs. From here one can command a fine view of the Rakshas Tal (འཇམ་ཐོག་ཐུང་པོ།) (Manasarovar?) from a great distance. We got down the la for half a mile. Here began the fourth mountain. Gengta is only a mile from this place. This path is very uneven and runs on loose soil. Sometimes the path is as narrow as one foot. From here is seen the gompa of Gengta, situated on the top of an isolated hill with all pomp and show of a mighty hill fort. We crossed the Gengta chhu, got up the hill and found ourselves in front of Gengta gompa (རྒྱུ་ཐོག་གུ་མཆོག་པོ།). It is also called Gengdog or Gyengta or Gyentha (རྒྱུ་ཐོག་རྩེ་ཐོག་པོ། or རྩེ་ཐོག་པོ།)

Gyengta is about seven miles from Zuthulphuk. Two streams are flowing on either side of Gengta gompa, which meet a few furlongs down the monastery. The gompa is facing east. There is a flag staff near the gompa. This the fourth monastery of Kailas. Though away from the high road of Kailasa Parikrama, it is the biggest of all the monasteries of Kailasa. This and the next gompa (Seralung) belong to the famous Sibling gompa of Purang Taklakot. The Lhakhang is on the second storey. It may be about 35 feet long and 25 feet broad, supported by eight pillars. On entering the room on the left hand side are several gilded and copper chhortens placed on raised seats. Then comes the

library of Kanjur volumes, well preserved on shelves. On the right hand side are the idols of lamas and some more earthen made idols of an elephant, a bear, and a bull. In the centre of the hall is the idol of Buddha. Canopies with fine fringes and borders are hanging over the idols. Several unlit butter lamps are placed before the idols to be used whenever needed.

There are two more image rooms on the upper storey, where are to be found several idols. In these rooms there is a big military store of armours, helmets, breast plates, and shields of steel or iron. There are some guns, swords, and arrows also. One big standing idol is fully armed with helmet, armour, hatchet and a sword.

The kitchen is on the third story. The hearth is on one side near a wall. On another side is the seat of the lama, who has got some Chhang¹⁴(ཕྱང་) and sattu before him to take. At right angles to his seat are some more seats along side of another wall. On the fourth side are kept the rations-sattu of peas, buttermilk, curd, milk, tea, etc. The kitchen has got good ventilation from above. There are several other rooms which we have not seen. Mattar-ka-sattu (མཐར་ཀ་སའུ་= མཐར་ཀ་སའུ་པའི་པོ་) is brought from Purang for sale to the needy pilgrims. This is no doubt a great service to the pilgrims. A furlong south of the gompa are some vacant houses in good condition.

On the top of the monastery there are tarchoks¹⁵ (རམ་མཐོག་) chhortens and the usual cylindrical representations to scare away evil spirits. Here we purchased a measure of sattu of peas for $1\frac{1}{2}$ tongas¹⁶ (ཏོང་) and buttermilk for half a tonga and made a good dinner out of them. We distributed sattu of two tongas to our lama companions. Now the pain in my eyes has decreased a good deal.

After taking meals we left the gompa to Seralung which is just behind a mountain. Our lama companions wanted to go direct to Tar-chan; so they did not accompany us. One of the lamas has kindly lent me his goggles. We crossed the second stream of Gengta just behind the gompa and proceeded for nearly two miles by the side of a mountain. Here we crossed the Seralung chhu, coming from the southern foot of Kailas, and reached the Seralung gompa (ཤེར་ལུང་གོམ་པ་) situated in the valley of the same name.

14 A kind of light country beer prepared out of barley, a favourite beverage of the Tibetians.

15 A flag or a festoon of flags.

16 A Tibetan silver coin equivalent to $\frac{1}{6}$ or $\frac{1}{7}$ of a rupee.

The monastery was under lock and key. This is the fifth and the last monastery of Kailas. It is the smallest of all the Kailas gompas. From here, Kailasa presents a very fine view of its southern aspect. A lapcha is seen on the mountain that is on the south of the gomba, from which I concluded that there may be a path from that place direct to Tarchan or Nandi side. There are several walled enclosures near the gomba, which go to prove that it is a resting place of some changpas¹⁷ for a long period in some season of the year. After seeing the gomba from outside we came down for $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles along the right bank of the Seralungchhu and then crossed it. A mile further, we crossed the Gengta waters. After going for two or three furlongs down this stream, they fall into the Seralungchhu and the combined river is called Uma chhu thenceforth. We proceeded for a few furlongs more, got down the Kailas mountain to its southern foot, crossed the Umachhu on its right bank and reached Tarchan at 4 P.M.

Most of the pilgrims return to Tarchan direct from Zuthulphuk gomba by the high road of the Kailasa parikrama, since many or not aware of the mighty fort of Gengta and the Seralung gomba, from where a nice southern view of Kailas can be had, and some who have even heard of Gengta, won't like to take the trouble of ascending to that place, after the bitterest experience of the ascent to Dolma la. The distance from Zuthulphuk to Tarchan, may be about five miles by the high road.

Now we have finished our Kailasa parikrama. So let me recapitulate to you the whole parikrama once again. Start from Tarchan, a small village at the southern foot of Kailas (15,100 ft); go for four miles; cross the Lhochhu to its right bank and reach the Nandi gomba, which is like a bird's nest set in the mighty wall of the Nandi mountain. A fine view of the Kailas can be had from the top of this gomba. It is the first monastery of Kailas situated on the west of Kailas parvat and it has three permanent lamas in it. After six miles' walk along the right bank of Lhochhu, cross the chemolung chhu and two miles further comes the Diraphuk gomp, situated at the foot of a mountain just opposite the Holy Kailas peak. Kailas is seen nearest, clearest, and grandest from this monastery. It is the second monastery of Kailas, situated in the north-western direction of the Kailas parvat and it has three lamas to sing the glory of the holy peak throughout the year. From here one road goes to the source of the Indus via Testila and thence to Thokjalung gold fields. Cross the Lhochhu here. Then follows a steep ascent of five miles to Dolma la, having a height of 18,600 feet. A little before reaching the pass is the Dikpa Karnok or the sinner's test stone. On the top of the pass is the Dolma block. This is the

¹⁷ A nomad or shepherd.

greatest height on the parikrama, the height of Kailas peak itself being 22,028 feet. After three furlongs descent comes the Gouri kund or Tsokabali, situated just on the right side of the road. The ice in it never breaks except in a few small patches for a short period in summer. It is in the north-eastern side of the Kailas parvat. After 3 miles steep descent comes Shapji dak-thok, with the foot prints of a grand lama. About two miles onwards, we cross the stream Kando Sanglam. Then comes the Zuthulphuk gumpa situated at the foot of a mountain, on the right bank of the Thongchhu. This gumpa is ten miles from the Dolma pass. It is said that this gumpa and the Nandi gumpa are under the same management. From here Tarchan is about five miles by direct road. But there are two more monasteries situated in the interior of the Kailas parvat, lying to the south of the Kailas peak. We cross four mountains in the course of seven miles and reach the Gengta gumpa, situated on an isolated hill, like a mighty hill fort with its majestic walls. Two streams are flowing on the western and the eastern sides. It is the fourth and the biggest of the Kailas monasteries and has four monks to look after it, changing triennially. This gumpa and the Seralung gumpa are under the management of the Sibling gumpa. Two miles further is seralung gumpa, situated on the right bank of Seralung chhu. From here Kailas presents a beautiful sight of its southern side. This is the fifth and the last monastery of Kailas. It is the smallest of all the Kailas monasteries, with a lonely lama looking to its needs. It is under the Gengta gumpa. From here Tarchan is nearly four miles. The holy Kailas peak itself is standing in the N. W. side of the Kailas parvat. The sight of the Kailas is most bewitching and the vibration all round is of a supreme order from the spiritual point of view.

Every year a few Hindu pilgrims — say about thirty or forty — and hundreds of Tibetan (Buddhist) pilgrims do the Kailasa parikrama and visit Manasarover. At the Kando Sanglam (between Gourikund and Zuthulphuk), we met a Tibetan pilgrim, a Khampa,¹⁸ who was on his seventh circuit round Kailas. He said that he was doing at the rate of one circuit a day. We heard that the orthodox Buddhists, do at least three parikramas and the more orthodox ones do thirteen parikramas to Kailas and a few extraordinary, orthodox and pious men do Sashtanga namaskara pradakshina (పాదస్టంభనమునామకర ప్రదక్షిణ) called Gyangchak Tsal-laken or Gothik-cha-Tshe-wa, in Tibetan. This kind of circuit, by measuring the whole distance by body's length takes, it is said, from twenty to thirty days. There is a certain sect among Buddhists, which does the parikrama of Kailas in an anti-clockwise direction. Of course, there may be only one or two such people in an year. All circuits begin from Tarchan and end at Tarchan again.

¹⁸ Kham is a province in eastern Tibet and a man of Kham province is called a Khampa.

THE ETYMOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SOME DRAVIDIAN VERBAL THEMES.

A. S. THYAGARAJU M.A.

The study of etymological developments is one of the most engrossing and interesting of researches. Words which came into existence in the dim past with a very elementary meaning have soon acquired to themselves such a variety and remoteness of connotation, that the search for their original meanings becomes as romantic an adventure as the search for new scientific specimens in an unexplored land. Such developments in the growth of language are inevitable. A living language is not a cut and dry scientific entity like those code languages, esperantos or volapuks, that are invented from time to time, which have no possibility of growth, expansion and development. A living language has to be progressing with the ever growing needs of humanity. As the complexity of life increases, language has to develop to meet its requirements

There are various expedients by which such a need is met. Words belonging to a sister language are borrowed to express ideas derived from contact with that sister nation. Such, for example, are the Latin borrowings in English. This large Latin admixture in early English is due to the influence of Christianity. With this new religion came new terms like *disho*, *abbot*, *monastery*, *disciple* etc. Occasionally terms are deliberately coined to be used to express some new thought or invention or discovery. The word 'gas' in English is an example of such a deliberate invention. But the most common way with language, is to make existing terms serve new purposes. In this way the scope of the meaning of a word can be indefinitely extended and increased. Verbal themes must naturally be most liable to this taxation upon their values. Because it is easy to conceive in the action of a verb, a series of closely related or similar actions. The original meaning of every verb, must necessarily have been a very simple and elementary action. But today no verb can claim for itself the connotation of a sole and single action. Verbs have acquired meanings which may be figurative, metaphorical or poetic. Ideas get mixed up and often two or three different kinds of action may be indicated by the same verb or two or three different verbs indicate the same action.

The Dravidian verbal theme *pār* means 'to see'. The verb still retains the same idea in Tamil. But what a variety and shade of other ideas it has acquired during the ages. The new Tamil Lexicon, among other meanings gives the following: to look at, to notice, to view, to observe, to examine, to know, to desire, to seek, to worship, to estimate, to revise, to charm, to treat, to aim at, etc. The verb is retained as *pāru* in Kanarese and *pārkkā* in Malayalam. In Telugu we find the root preserved in the verb *pāruva-jāchuṭa*: to see straight and in the negation *parāku*: inattention. This may be compared with the Tamil noun *pār-vāi-y ili*: blind person.

Of the nouns developed from this verb we have in Tamil *pārval*: look, watch; fledgling, young of deer and *pārppu*: fledgling, young of tortoise, toad, frog or lizard and of any quadruped. The idea behind the meaning is interesting. Fledglings and the young of quadrupeds require watching and 'seeing' by their parents and hence come to be known as 'that which is seen or watched.' Tamil *pārvai* has the meanings sight, view, observation; and a step higher it means revision, supervision and estimate; and it is further used to signify Black Art — the art which requires the power of a 'see-r'. In Telugu the only noun preserving this meaning is *pāruva*: sight. The derivation of Tamil *Pārppaṇaṇ*: Brahman, is as interesting as that of English seer, for a Brahmana is simply a see-r, the prophet and priest of the people; the man who could see the future before the nation.¹

The idea of movement or motion is suggested by the verbal theme *pāru*. In Tamil the vowel is short and the verb has the meaning of 'to fly'. In Telugu *pāru* or *paru* is 'to run quickly, to fly, to purge, to spread etc.' We shall first consider all the words in Telugu which are used to express the idea of running *Pāruṭa*: to run, *parugu*: to run quickly, *parugettu-ta*: to run. *paruvu*: to run, *para-tenchu-ta*: to run away, *paruvuṭa*: to make run.² We notice that the initial vowel is short in some cases and long in the others. Besides this, the 'r' is hardened in some words.

From the idea of 'running' to 'flying' or 'flowing' or 'creeping' is an easy step and no wonder the same verbal theme is utilised. Telugu has *pāruṭa*: to fly, *para-ginchuṭa*: to let fly an arrow, *paraṇu-ta*: to shoot an arrow. Keeping the idea of flight in mind, we shall first review all the nouns formed from the verb. Telugu has *pāruṭa*: flight of birds, *parugu*: flight. Next come the words used for indicating certain birds. *Pāru-vamu* and *pāruvāyi*, with out and with metathesis to *pāvuramu* and *pāvurāyi*, mean a pigeon, one of the swiftest and most typical birds of

1 It has also been suggested that Tamil *Pārppan* is derived from Sanskrit *brāhmaṇa*.

2 With this we may compare Tulu *pārppoyināvu*: running away.

flight. The Tamil forms are *pura* : pigeon, *pārāvataṁ* : dove, pigeon. The verb is almost intact in Tamil *parundaḷ* : kite. Besides these words Tamil has *pārachikai* : hawk, kite and *pārattuvācam* ; king-crow, quail,⁸ while Telugu has the generic term *parika* : a bird and Tamil has *paravai* : bird, which would mean 'that which flies'. The Tulu *pak-kilu* : birds and the Sanskrit *pakshi* : bird, may be compared with these terms.

There are also nouns which denote the other characteristics of movement, namely 'running' and 'flowing'. That which runs or flows is a stream, for example Telugu *para-ta*, *parati* (*patri*, *partī*) and *para-va*.⁴ There are two interesting nouns in Tamil which show a later formation from the words used for stream and hence any water expanse. We shall soon see that the same word is used not only for an expanse of water but also for an expanse of bog and mire and finally for any large stretch of ground, so that the word becomes synonymous with 'spaciousness' in certain connotations. To return to the examples of a later formation we just mentioned, Tamil *pārati* : a sailing vessel and *pārakam* : boat, which would of course mean literally 'that which sails'; and Tamil *pārāvāram* : sea-shore, which should be translated literally 'the edge of the sea (or lake)' denote how the verbal theme for movement is extended. This idea of quick movement and of flowing is contained in the names in Tamil *pārutun*, *pārā* : mercury or quick-silver. Just as mercury is in English the living or moving silver it is the 'flowing one in Tamil.

One of the interesting facts of the development of ideas in a verbal theme is that very often opposite qualities are indicated by the same word. This difference in suggestion is indicated sometimes by a vowel change in quality or quantity. *Pāruṭa* in Telugu not only means to flow quickly but also to flow slowly. Thereafter it acquires to itself the meanings to purge, to spread and further to creep and to surround. The following Telugu words show all these meanings: *paru-vu* : to run quickly, *parvuṭa* ; to spread, *para-chū-ṭa* : to purge, *para-vuṭa* : to make run *pari-gonuṭa* : to surround. With these may be compared Tamil *par(a)vu*, *pāri* : to spread; and Kuvi *por* : to cover.

In Telugu *pāri* : earth, Tamil *pārakam* : earth, *pāram* : earth, *pāri* : sea etc, the idea is evidently that of a large expanse, an idea developed probably through the intermediate stages of expanse—and 'spaciousness' as we have already indicated. The following Telugu nouns show this stage. *Paru-vu* : spaciousness, *parra* ; fallow land, *para* : fallow

8 Cf. Sanskrit *bharadvājam* : sky-lark.

4 Cf. Sanskrit *pravāha* : stream. Also Sans. *prā* and Eng. *Flow*.

land, *para-gaḍa* ; the other place, *para.pu* ; spaciousness, *parru* : marsh land, *porre-mīnu* : shark (literally a fish of the marsh or stream), *pāra* : a shovel, *parapu* : bed (literally that which is spread out or flat), *parti* : cotton and the verb *parachu* : to spread. The same word occurs as Tamil *pāri* : cot, bedstead, *pārakam* : curtain, *pāran* : cotton plant, *pār* : expanse, platform, *parappu* : earth, land, hard ground, rock, *pārat* : ledge, border, obstruction, *pār* : bulk, size, *pārkkā* : a part, *pāram* : bank, shore, and in Malayalam *pāri* : fine cloth.

The verb denoting movement, while developing in the direction denoting flowing and hence spaciousness has also developed in other directions. The idea of moving very slowly or stealthily is found in the Telugu word *prāku* ; to creep and Kanarese *barayu* : to creep. Compare also with the Telugu *baraku* : to scratch. A further specification of the idea is found in Telugu *porupuṭa* : to make fall and *pari-ya-vāyu-ṭa* : to crack. The idea of the movement of receiving from one hand to another is expressed in Telugu by *pondu* or *pari-gonuṭa* ; compare with Kuvi *pān* : to receive.

Growth is a progress or forward movement in time. Therefore the same verbal theme is used to denote such ideas as to grow old, to ripen, to become over-ripe, to become spoilt etc. *Pandū* in Telugu is to grow old and to become ripened. The same word is used as a noun for fruit or any ripe seed-pod. Tamil has *poram* and Kanarese *haṇṇu* for fruit. In Tulu *para* is old and Badaga *hlaya* is old. The verbal use is also seen in Telugu *pari-gonuṭa*, *pari-vōvuṭa* : to get spoilt and Kuvī *mrek* : to spoil. The movement of falling down is indicated by Telugu *paḍu* : to fall and of lying down by *pandū-ko* or *parundū*.

KAKATIYAS IN TAMIL LITERATURE.

SOMA SUNDARA DESIKAR.

Among the many works of Tamil literature abounding in historical material which have not been properly scrutinised, the *Tamil Nāvalar Caritai* or the chronicles of the Tamil poets is one. It is alleged to contain enough biographical material—though not in complete form—of about two dozen poets. Kamban is one of such poets. His name is known in all the countries of the world by his Rāmāyanā. Dr. Caldwell wrote 'The Tamil Rāmāyanā of their own Kamban is greatly superior to the Sanskrit original of Vālmiki.' In fact he is known as 'the Homer of South India.'

A stray stanza in the *Tamil Nāvalar Caritai* is attributed to Kamban which is said to praise Rudra of Warangal. The stanza runs thus:—

Avani muṭuṭuṇḍum airāvadathuṇ
Bavaṇi toḷuvār paduttum- bhuvaṇi
Uruthira uṇṇudaya orangal naṭṭir
Kuruthira vaḷai-k-kuḷām.

The occasion for the poem is stated to be when the Kākatiya King Pratapa Rudra followed him as his valet on Kamban's return to the Chola court. This, it is said, he did in token of the regard he had for the poet while staying in his court.

In order to appreciate the implications involved in this account, a short summary of the life of Kamban, as handed down by tradition, will be of great help.

Kamban, better known as Kavichakravarthi Kamban, Kamban the prince of poets, was born of humble parents of Occha caste hereditary Pujari caste of Pidari and lost his parents when young. He was brought up and educated by one Sadayan of Vennainallur in the Tanjore district. He acquired a vast knowledge in Tamil and also obtained the grace of Sarasvathi. When he became famous, he was appointed as the court poet of the Chōlaās. Sometime after, he fell out with the king and went away to the court of the Pāndya king. As the Chōlā court consequently lost its splendour, the Chōlā monarch requested him to return to his kingdom. On another occasion, it is said, that the monarch while chatting with the king of poets laughed all on a sudden. When

he was asked to explain, he is said to have boasted of his immense power over the Kingdom, he being an ordinary mortal like others. Immediately, Kamban told him that such a powerful man was under the thumb of a common poet meaning himself. This reply put the king out, and immediately he banished the poet out of his court and confiscated the poet's property. Kamban, it is said, swore that he would not return to the Chōlā Kingdom unless accompanied by the King's overlord as his valet. Immediately he set off to a distant country—some say to the court of the Chērās and some have it as the Pāṇḍiyas.

Mahāvidvān R. Raghava Iyengar of Setu samastānam gives another version. Sadaya vallal, the patron of Kamban possessed much wealth and naturally the king, his overlord, was not always well disposed towards him. This caused friction between them, which resulted in Kamban's banishment the first time. He was recalled again. While he was living there, Ambikapati, son of Kamban, carried on a love intrigue with the king's daughter and the scandal became the talk of the town. The king, on learning this, was very much perturbed. At last he found a way out to punish the poet's son by asking Ambikapati to compose on the spot one hundred stanzas on 'supreme salvation' and stipulated that if he failed to complete the hundred, he should lose his head. Accordingly while he was reciting stanza after stanza, the princess, who was hiding behind counting the number, mistook the invocatory stanza as the first and thought that the stipulation has been completed, when 99 stanzas were recited, and out of curiosity peeped out with adulation from behind her hiding place. Immediately, Ambikapati, the poet's son began to expatiate on the beauty of the princess. The king was much enraged and shot him dead at once. The king who did such an atrocious act is identified by the Pandit with Rajaraja III.

Another account is also given by the Mahāvidvan. Kamban had a beautiful daughter named Kāvēri. The king's son was enamoured of her and tried to possess her by foul means. When she came to know of it, she drowned herself in the pit of bulrush millet, not only to maintain her chastity but also to safeguard the reputation of the family. When Kamban came to know of it he was much enraged, met the king and scolded him. He was so much disgusted with the court that he left the Chōlā Kingdom and went over to the Kākatiyā court.

Anyhow, the stories are persistent in saying that Kamban went over to the court of the Kākatiyā King who befriended him and did all the honours due to a great poet. He also followed Kamban to the Chōlā Court as a valet at the request of the poet in order to spite the Chōlā king. It is also added that the Kākatiyās were the overlords of the Chōlās. The authority for all these statements is the stray stanza

quoted in the *Tamil Nāvalar Caritai* attributed to Kamban with its colophon written by the redactor. The colophon reads as Pratāpa Rudranidathiṟ pōi avan adappai kaṭṭivara pādiya venba.¹

Now let us examine the statement made here that the poet went over to the court of Pratāpa Rudra of the Kākatiyā family. This Kamban did, as the Kākatiyās were the overlords of the Chōlās. And the Chōlā King, Mahavidvan R. Raghava Iyengar adds, was the Chōlā Rāja rāja who came after Vikrama Chōlā i.e., Rājarāja III. Further he states that Kamban should have lived during the reign of Rudra I and the fact of the king following the poet as a valet should have occurred between the years 1162—1197.

First of all either Kamban should have possessed a vast knowledge of the Telugu language or the Kākatiyās enough knowledge of Tamil to appreciate the beauties of the poems of Kamban. It is said that Kamban possessed enough knowledge of the Telugu language as some words like *Tumi*, *Akkaṭa* and *Undu* are found in the Rāmāyaṇā. But a few words cannot make the author of the Tamil Rāmāyaṇā as fully conversant with a foreign tongue as to enable him to converse with the people. Much less adequate such knowledge would be for expounding such a great work as the Rāmāyaṇā.

Secondly, Rājarāja ruled over the Chōlā kingdom from 1146 to 1162 A.D. The Chōlā dominion extended from the Tungabhadra to Cape Comorin including the Circars in the North-east. This Kingdom was handed over to him by his ancestors who had no rivals anywhere. When he was ill and when he had no male heir to succeed him, he chose Nallaman,² a descendant of the old pure Chōlā line,³ he being a member of the Eastern Chālukya family, to succeed him. This king was ably assisted by his brothers Kumāra Mahidara alias Kulottunga III and Sankara Chōlā.⁴ Kulōttunga III assumed the title of Thirubhuavana Vīra Dēva⁵ as he had conquered the whole of South India. Such being the case, there cannot be any domination of the Kākatiyās over the Chōlās at that period.

Thirdly, Kamban has nowhere stated the name of the Chōlā monarch in the great epic. Had there been a monarch worth mentioning he would not have left him out. Critics may point to the two verses

1 Kamban went to the Court of Pratapa Rudra and when he was following him as his valet, this poem was sung.

2 *Sankara-Cholan-Uḷā*.

3 Pallavarayapet Inscription Q.S.M.S. XIX p. 58 lines 10&11.

4 *Sankara-Cholan-utā*.

5 S.I.I. 11.

found in the Kishkiṇḍa Khāṇḍa and Yuddha Khāṇḍa⁶ where the general name of *Cenni* is mentioned. The first stanza eulogises the gift of the Chōlā King and the other simply mentions the Chōlā country. These are not enough to identify the monarch with Rājarāja whose *pracaṣṭi*⁷ mentions many of his exploits. Some are of opinion that the Rāmayaṇā being a work on Viṣṇu, the kings being staunch saivites the work was not patronised by the Chōlās and that may be a reason for not naming the king in that great epic. That cannot be true as we find innumerable donations irrespective of caste or creed and specially of Rājarāja III, as he is said in his *praṣṭi*, to have elevated vaiṣṇavism from its fallen position.⁸ On the other hand, a stanza attributed to Kamban defines the area of the Chōlā country as 24 Kathams⁹ or about 240 miles in length, which if true, would show that the Chōlās then were only petty chiefs. That may be the reason why the Chōlā name is not found in that great work, while his real patron's name is found in ten places.

Fourthly, the Kākatiyā king Rudra who ruled between 1158-1195 A. D. never extended his kingdom beyond the Telugu districts. He had many enemies on the borders of his territory to contend with and it may be taken as certain that he never ventured into the Chōlā country.

Fifthly, the floating stanza attributed to Kamban could not be of much evidentiary value as it is not substantiated from other sources. The work in which this stanza is found gives only stories handed down by memory from time immemorial. Indeed it begins with the legends of the Sangam period and ends with that of a poet in the sixteenth century. The colophons should have been also added from time to time. It may be taken for certain that the work was edited sometime after the 16th century. Many stories might have been twisted from their originality. Hence no reliance can be placed on the colophons.

Lastly, the stanza itself—the purport of which is that the whole world is fed on plantain leaves and the damsels who see the royal tour are so consumed with love that they lie on the plantain shoots, that the country is devoid of plantain shoots in the Warangal country—connotes nothing of importance. The royal tour is mentioned and the charitable disposition of the king is also known. Beyond this we are not able to infer anything. If Kamban had really composed this stanza on Pratapa Rudra in gratitude for the service of being his valet for sometime, we need say, then it is a very poor compliment to the bard as well as the king himself.

6 Verses.

7 See Tamil XXVI.

8 Ibid page 472 line 6.

9 Tamil Nāvalar caritai.

Another thing, the most important of all, has to be remembered in this connection. There is difference of opinion as to the age of Kamban, one school holding that he lived during the reign of Rajaraja III, 12th in century, and the other school holding that he lived in the later part of the 9th century. The former is being proved as untenable while the latter is gaining ground from various sources of evidence. The cumulative effect of the foregoing discussion leads one to think that a floating stanza of some poet is fastened on Kamban and a story invented to support that stanza. Thus we are led to think the story found in the *Tamil Nāṁṣṭar Caritai*, as far as Kamban is concerned, to be a pure myth spun round a floating stanza.

II

The other two stanzas refer to the subjugation of the Kākatiyās by the Vijayanagara king Krishna Dēva Rāya by two different author Kumāra Sarasvaty and Tatva Prakāsar. The stanza by Kumār Sarasvaty refers to the victory gained over the Odras and the other refers to the pillage carried on by the Odras when they overran the Southern districts. The purport of the stanza by Kumāra Sarasvaty is that the Odras lost Kalinga, Kaichang and Cuttack by the victory gained by Krishna Deva Rāya. The other stanza by Tatva Prakasar, a manager of the temple at Tiruvārūr in the Tanjore District refers to the pillage carried on by the Odras. Here the poet compares the temple people to the Odras in their atrocities. As far as the victory of the Rāya over the Odras is concerned we know that he defeated the Odras and took their possessions in 1515 A. D. and it needs no recapitulation. Though there is no direct mention of the Kakatiyas in the two verses mentioned above, the Tamils take them for Kakatiyas.

III

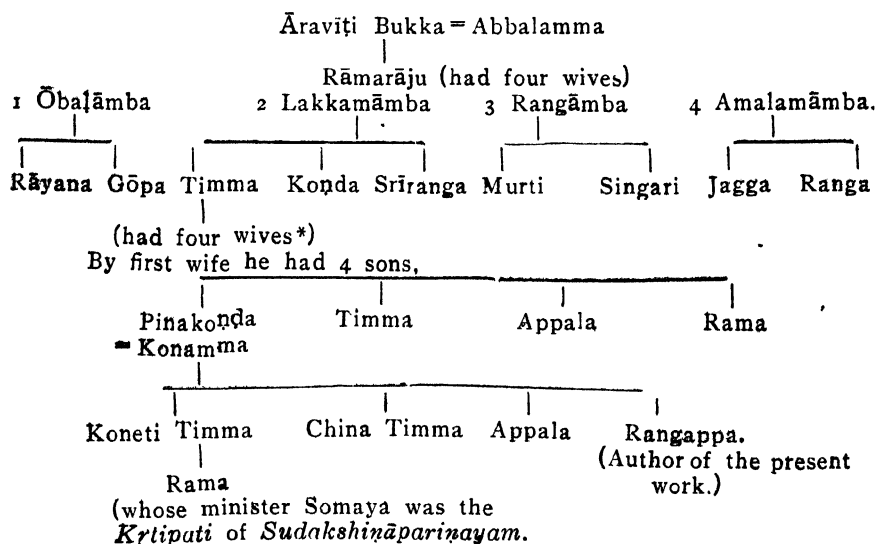
In the Tamil proverb 'Nan kakatiyan pokkattiyan alla' (I am not a Kakatiya or helpless man) reference is made to the foolish behaviour of the person referred to. How this proverb arose and what it connotes cannot be definitely stated except that it is used in the sense that the man who uses the proverb means that he is not a foolish man.

SAMBOPAKHYANAM AND ITS HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE.

R. SUBBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

Mr. Manavilli Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A. was good enough to give me a manuscript copy of this work some years back for publication of its historical introduction in the Society's Journal. A brief account of it is given below.

The author of the work is Rangappa who belongs to the Aravidu Dynasty. His geneology is given as follows:—



Koneti Timmaraju was powerful in the Line and full of virtues. He patronised the Parama Vaishnava sect and worshipped Varadarājaswamy of Kanchi and granted several *agrarahas* to Deities. He protected the followers of Ramanuja and like Vikramārka subdued the prowess of his enemies. His younger brothers China Timma and Appala were loyal and brave. His youngest brother was Ranga, the author of the present work. He was a devout worshipper of God Sri Ranga situated in Kaveri island. After extolling that God and after recounting the greatness of Nannaya, Tikkana, Errapragada and other poets, he describes the present work dedicating it to God Sri Ranganatha.

* By his second wife Lakshamma, he had two sons, viz, China Tirumala and Peda Tirumala; by his third wife Gopamma, he had Tirumala and 4 other sons of whom Tirumala was the Patron of *Bālabhāgavatam*, and by his fourth wife Tirumamma, he had Timma and two other sons.

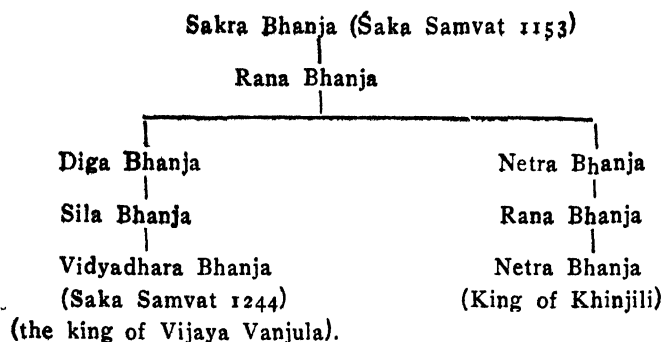
DEVLAPEDI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF NETRA BHANJA

SRI LAKSHMINARAYAN HARICHANDAN JAGADEB.

This inscription was published by Mr. Gopabandhu Vidyabushan, teacher in the Sanskrit College of Parlakimidi, in '*Vaisya-vani*', an Oriya Magazine of the Ganjam District. I examined the impressions of the same and thought that the inscription is an important one as it gives the early history of Middle Kalinga which forms the present Ganjam District. Since Mr. Vidyabhushan left out some points of interest undiscussed, I like to elucidate those important points learnt from the inscription.

The temple of Swapnēśwara is situated in the village of Devlapedi half a mile off Polesora or Phulasara of the Attagada Zamindary in the Ganjam District. The name Devlapedi must have been derived from 'Devlapada' which means the village where the temple exists. Perhaps the establishment of the village followed the construction of the temple and the installation of the God. While digging the foundation to construct a kitchen near this temple, two sets of copper-plates have been found in a pot. They are now to be found in the Chendrasekhara temple of Phulsara. These copper plates record the grants of land made by the Kalinga kings. One belongs to Kirtirājadēva of the Aswapati Branch of the Ganga dynasty and has been dealt with by Mr. Satyanarayana Raja, guru in J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III, part I. The other set of plates belongs to Netra Bhanja which I edit now.

One of the Bhanja copper-plates so far discovered is that of Sakra Bhanja who belongs to Saka 1153. Rana Bhanja, Dig Bhanja and Vidyadhara Bhanja seem to have succeeded Sakra Bhanja. The date of one of the copper-plates of Bidyadhara Bhanja is Saka 1244. This is one branch of the Bhanja Dynasty. The other branch consisted of Sakra Bhanja, Rana Bhanja, Netra Bhanja and Rana Bhanja who have ruled one after another. The present copper-plate belongs to the reign of Netra Bhanja. The first branch of the Bhanja family ruled over the kingdom of Vijaya Vanjula and the second branch over the kingdom of Kharilli which, in course of time, came to be known as Kintilli and which lies between Aska and Berhampur of the Ganjam District and till this day the Bhanja family does exist. The Genealogy of the Bhanja family is given below:—



From a perusal of the history of the Bhanja kings, one is led to think that Netra Bhanja and Kirtiraja Deva of the Ganga Dynasty were contemporaries. These two kings granted some lands to a Brahmin named Bapanna Bhatta, son of Guhēswara Bhatta, who came from Gangavādi which is the original place of Kalinga Gangas and from the capital town Kalyānapura. The copper plates of the two kings have been discovered at the same place. Sakra Bhanja belongs to S. S. 1153 or 1231 A. D. One branch of his family ruled over Vijaya Vanjula and the fourth generation of that branch is Vidyadhara Bhanja who existed in S. S. 1244 or 1322 A. D. The other branch of Sakra Bhanja ruled over Khinjili and the fourth generation of this branch is Netra Bhanja. So it can be inferred that the fourth generation of the two branches might be contemporaries. By this it may be concluded that Netra Bhanja belongs to the 14th century A.D. Now let us consider which is Kalyānapura. There was a place known as Kalyānpur near the village of Devlapedi. At this place many relics of historical interest are found even now. People say that a fort stood at that place. There has been a change of the name and Kalyānpur of the old records is now called Kasinathpur. In the copper-plate grant of Kirtirajadeva he is mentioned to have belonged to the line of Aswapati.

Aswapati used to rule over Sodamandala, the present Soroda Division of the Ganjam District. Their dominions extended as far as Phulasera in Attagada. Kirtiraj Deva had made his grant to Bapanna Bhatta from Kalyanapura which was one of his chief towns. It is most likely that Netra Bhanja, the ruler of Khinjili, conquered Kirtiraja Deva and made another grant of the village of Jurado, whose present name is Jazodo which is four miles off Devlapedi to the same brahmin Bapanna Bhatta from the same capital Kalyānapura.

The grant is inscribed on three thick plates of copper. The first and third plates are left blank on one side. The length of the first plate is 6.15 inches that of the second plate 6 inches and the third plate 5.77 inches. The first plate contains on the second side nine lines.

the second one on the first side eight lines and on the second side nine lines, and the third eight lines on the first side. The letters are quite clear. The three plates are kept intact by a copper ring. At the joint of the ring, there is a royal seal containing the figure of "Purnakumbha" a pot with a cocoanut and mango leaves. This Symbol is a sign of good omen among Oriyas. The inscriptions are in Sanskrit characters. The language is Sanskrit. The lower parts of the letters are bigger than the upper parts and they are more ancient than the letters of the grant of Purushottama Deva of 1483 A. D.

Certain letters of this grant resemble the corresponding letters of the then Oriya language.

— E. g —

अ आ क ख ग घ ज ङ त द ध न प फ भ म य श ष

Some Oriya words are to be found in this grant. In the 8th line of the first side of the second plate is to be found 'भञ्जे', Bhanja which is an honorary term of Bhanj. In the first line of the second side of the same plate is found बापो, Bapo, which is an Oriya term for father. In the seventh and eight lines of the first side of the third plate are found रुप्य; पल, Rupya Pala which is a silver coin. 'Rupai and Sunai' are the terms used in those days for Silver and Gold coins respectively in the Oriya language. Therefore, it can be made out that Rupya is the other term of Rupai which is a silver coin. 'Pala' is a measurement of weight in Oriya. So 'Rupya Pala' is a silver coin which was then in use and whose weight was one Pala, i.e., six tolas. In the 7th and 8th lines of the first side of the second plate, there are महादेवा Mahādēbi and पात्र Patro respectively and in the first line of the second side of the same plate is found प्रतिहार, Pratihara. Mahādēbi means wife of a Raja. Patro is a title of a ministerial rank and Pratihara (Podhīhari) is a term applied to persons who guard the gate in Oriya Rajas' Durbars. The Bhanja kings were the vassals of the kings of Utkala and were known as Mahāmaṇḍalikas. They were Vaishnavites and worshippers of the God Nārāyana. The name of the writer of the grant is not written. But the inscriber is Mālīka, a merchant.

TEXT.

First plate, Second side

- 1 यस्मिंश्चक्र गदासि साङ्गं धनुषः श्रीवत्सताक्ष्यावपि² व्योन्तेये
- 2 दितिनाधि नाथ वनिता वैधव्यदीक्षारतः सोयं भक्त³ ननमोक्षफद्
- 3 श्रीभञ्जवंशोद्भवान् पायान्नः कुलदेवता प्रतिदिनं नारायणोभूभुजः
- 4 स्वस्तिश्री कुमारपुरात् परमवैष्णव शङ्कैक शब्दाभिनन्दित
- 5 मत्तमथूरतूर्य रवोत्कासिताय⁴ रातिचक्रभञ्जामलकुलति
- 6 लक महामण्डलेश्वर श्रीम⁵ द्वाहितनेदृभञ्ज देवस्य नृप्ति श्रीम
- 7 द्रणभञ्जदेवस्यात्मजः महामण्डलेश्वर श्रीनेदृभञ्जदेव⁶ पादा
- 8 कुशलिनः खिञ्जलिमण्डल प्रतिवद्गड्वविषयी यनुराड्वाग्राम⁷ शा
- 9 मन्ति⁸ सामवानि⁹ प्रमुख समस्त¹⁰ निवामिनोननपदान् समनाप

Second plate, First side.

- 1 यन्ति विदितमस्तु भगवताम् ग्रामोयं चतु सीमावलिनः सनलस्थलसर्व
- 2 टपलतासपद्रारण्य¹¹ साम्ब्रमधु¹² समीन स्रोय¹³ सव्वोपद्रवन्नित
- 3 ¹⁴अचटभटप्रवेश भविष्यत्कररहितः । कृमिछिद्रपिधानन्यायेना
- 4 ¹⁵चन्द्रार्कपर्यन्तं मातापितो¹⁶ रामश्च¹⁷ सर्ववञ्जानां पुण्ययशोभिवृ
- 5 द्भये गङ्गवाडि विनिर्गत विश्रामित्त्वगोत्र¹⁸ पञ्चरिषप्रव
- 6 र यजुर्वेदाध्ययन¹⁹ कण्वशाखा भट्टसन्तोप चौलाय भ
- 7 दृगुहेश्वर स्वात्मनप्राव श्रीवापन्नाय । महादेवी श्रीसन्तोष
- 8 माधवी युवराज श्रीराय भञ्जे पात्रश्रीयशोधर ॥ अक्षपट

Second plate, Second side

- 1 लि श्रीआज्ञा प्रतिहारश्री भाविण्णालागुणिश्रीराणीङ्क वापो²⁰ एषप
- 2 रिज्ञाने²¹ फाल्गुणपौर्णमास्यां सोमग्रहणे²² उदकपूर्वकताम् सासनी²³
- 3 कृत्यप्रदत्तो स्माभिः । अस्मद्वैरवात्पुण्ययशोभिवृद्वये आगामि नृ

- 1 यस्मिंश्चक्र 2 द्योतन्ते 3 ननमोक्षफलदः 4 रङ्गक्रमिता 5 द्रष्टृशक्ति
6 पादाः 7 समन्ति 8 सामवायी 9 प्रमुख 10 निवासिनो 11 साम्ब्रमधु
12 समीनतोय 13 सर्वोद्व वार्जित 14 अचाटभटप्रवेश 15 चन्द्रार्क 16 रात्मनश्च
17 सर्ववञ्जानां 18 पञ्चरिषि 19 कण्वशाखा 20 एषां 21 फाल्गुण 22 उदकपूर्वक
23 सासनी

- 4 २४पतिभिः परिपालनयिः^{२५} अस्मद्वन्शरक्षिणीय काञ्चि^{२६} नृपतिर्भवेत्॥
 5 तस्याहं पादलप्रोस्मि मम अनुगण्यात् भूमियः प्रतिगृह्ण
 6 ति यञ्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौतौपुण्यकर्म्मणौ नियतं स्वर्गं गा
 7 मिनौ^{२७} स्फोटयन्ति पितरः प्रकल्पन्ति पितामहाः^{२८} भूमिजाताकुले
 8 जातः^{२९} सन्धस्त्राण भविष्यति बहुभिर्वसुधादत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ॥
 9 यस्य यस्य यदाभूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा^{३०} फलं माभूदफल^{३१} सङ्गवः

Third plate, First side.

- 1 परदत्तेति पार्थिवाः स्वदत्तात् फल^{३२} मानन्त्यं परदत्तानुपालने हरते
 2 हारयते भूमि^{३३} मन्दबुद्धिस्तमोवृतः ।^{३४} सबद्धौ वारुण्यैः पाशैः^{३५} स्तेर्य ग्यो
 3 नि^{३६} प्रयायते । स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा योहरेत वसुधरां सविष्टायां
 4 कृमिर्भत्वापितृभिः सहपच्यते ॥ तडागानां सहस्रेण [वाज]
 5 वाजपेय शतेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन^{३७} भूमिहर्त्तान्शुध्यति
 6 गामेकां^{३८} सुवर्णां मेकं च भूमेरप्यर्द्धं मङ्गलं हरन्नरकमाप्नोति
 7 याव^{३९} दृष्टतसपल्लवम् रानकि^{४०} प्रत्यायारुध्यत्^{४१} ॥ खण्डपा
 8 लमुण्डमोल रुह्यत् ॥ ४ ॥ वणिकमलकेन ताम्र^{४२} लिखित ॥

Brief translation of the Text of the inscription.

He near whom, *Sankha*, *Chakra*, *Gada*, *Khadga*, *Scranga*, *Dhanus*, *Srivacha*, and *Garuda* (the conch, the disc, the massive club, the sword, the bow and arrow respectively) appear splendid and beautiful is Narayana the enemy of Rākshasas. May He who grants the fruits of salvation to the devotees and who is the family God of Bhanja race, protect us—the descendants of Bhanja dynasty. Be it so, Mahāmaṇḍalēśwara Sri Netra Bhanj Dev who was the virtuous chief of the spotless Bhanja dynasty, who was a terror to his foes in the midst of the well-coming sound of the Sankha (the conch) and whose peacock-like screaming trumpet was a staunch Vaishnava—orders, from Kalyānapur all the residents of Jurada village which is in the Khinjili kingdom.

- २४ पतिभिः २५ ईश २६ नृपति २७ अस्फोटयन्ति २८ शिखरादा
 २९ सन ३० फलं ३१ शङ्खा ३२ मानन्त्यं ३३ भूमिं ३४ सबद्धौ ३५ स्तेर्य
 ३६ नौ ३७ हर्त्ता ३८ मेकां ३९ दामूत ४० राजनीयप्रत्याय ४१ ताम्र

You know, this village with its boundary on all the four sides with its tanks, lands, trees and bushes, paths, forests, mango trees, mahuls (a species of edible flower from which spirit is distilled) fishes etc. is granted by means of a copper-plate in accordance with '*Krumicchidrapidhananyaya*' to Sri Bapana Bhatta son of Guhēswara Bhatta and grand son of Santosh Bhatta come from Gangavadi who belonged to '*Viswamitra Gotra*' Pancharshi Prabena and studied Kavva Sakha of yajurveda with the knowledge of Mahādēvi Sri Santosha Madhavi, yuvaraja Sri Raya Bhanja, Patro Jasodhara Akshayapattali, Asanando Pratihari and the Rani's father etc at the time of the Lunar eclipse on the full moon day of the month of '*Phalguna*' with a desire to improve the virtue and honour of self and parents as long as the sun and moon exist. The future Rajahs having regard for us should observe with a decision to improve virtue and fame for those who will become Rajahs on the extinction of our dynasty. I bow to them.

Both the giver and the receiver of land are virtuous. Both of them reside in Heaven. Indeed. Sagaras and other Rajahs have granted the earth many a time. But the fruit is his, for the time being, in whose possession it remains. Do not dream that it is futile to keep the earth given by another. It is more virtuous to keep the donation or gift given by another than to grant one. The fool, who snatches land or gets it snatched by others will go to hell. If one snatches land he along with his ancestors will live as germs in dung. The sin committed in snatching away land is not wiped out even if the snatcher digs a thousand tanks, performs a hundred *Vājapeya yagñas* (sacrifices) or grants a crore of coins. He, who snatches one cow, one gold (piece) and half an inch of land remains in hell for many years.

Royal tax due is four silver coins. Khandapala tax due is four silver coins.

This copper plate grant has been inscribed by a merchant by name Malika.

LIST OF KAKATIYA INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED IN H. E. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS.

M. RAMA RAO, B.A. (HONS.) B.Ed.

The inscriptions tabulated below have been collected by Messers. Śēshādri Ramaṇa Kavulu, the pioneer scholars of Telingāna, for the Lakshmaṇa Kāya Pariśōdhaka Maṇḍali of Hyderabad. Some of the inscriptions were deciphered by the poets (and published in the *Sujata*, now extinct) and some by me, in the year 1931. Subsequently, I edited the whole lot in a volume. Since this volume happens to be with-held from publication for some reasons, I am publishing summaries of the Kakatiya inscriptions for the benefit of scholars. Nos. 1, 11, 14 & 33 of the table are with Mr. D. Venkata Ramanacharya of Hanumakonda, who kindly permitted me to use them. No. 1 of the table reveals startling facts about the early history of the Kakatiyas and hence its text is also given. It is hoped that this table of Inscriptions would serve as a compendium to my *Political History of the Kakatiyas* already published in this Journal and the Kakatiya Samchika which I am editing for the A. H. R. Society and which will be shortly published.

No. 1 KAZIPET INSCRIPTION.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 శ్రీమాన్మాకతిపు | 14 పురకూడేశం చ గొన్నావ్వయం |
| 2 రాధినాథో బేతః \| చోడత్కాపా | తత్త |
| 3 శ చమూవాధిః ప్రమథనసమార్జి | 15 దూభయిత మన్మకొండ విష |
| 4 ♦ ♦ లక్ష్మీః పుత్రస్తస్యజగత్ప | యం శ్రే |
| 5 వితచరితః ప్రోలత్తమాపాల | 16 లోక్య మల్లత్తమాధీశాచ్ఛాస |
| 6 కో నిర్వక్తీకృత చక్రకూట విష | 17 నబద్ధ ముద్ధతజయీ సంలబ్ధవాన్ |
| 7 యో భద్రంగవిద్యావణః జిత్వా | 18 శాశ్వతం సూనురస్య పరశూపద |
| 8 కొంకణమణ్డలం నిజయశస్సం | 19 వాన్ చోళమాళవమదేభ మ్మ |
| 9 పాలితాళః పరాదుత్సాయాః | 20 కేశః విక్రమేణ భువి విక్ర |
| య్యః | 21 మచక్రీ బేతభూపతిరితి ప |
| 10 జనస్తుత స్థవిర విసరత్కిర్తి | 22 ధితోభూత్ అన్మకొండపురీవా |
| సమావర్త | 23 టీం తీథం శివపురాహ్వయం |
| 11 యత్ సవప జిత్వాపాస్తరమస్వ | కృత్య |
| 12 యాస్మభువనా శోడ్యర్తిదు | 24 తత్ర స్వనామ్నా శాదేవాలయ |
| 13 గుత్తబం హత్వాశ్శాస్త్రసాగరస్య | మచీకరోత్ |

No.	Place	King	Date	Language	Remarks
1	In a private <i>Darga</i> at KAZIPET	Beta II	...	Sanskrit in Telugu	Mentions that Beta built a temple after his own name, at Hanumakonda. This record is of paramount importance to Kakatiya History, since for the first time it reveals to us two of the earliest ancestors of the Kakatiyas. It is said that Beta (I) lord of Kākatipura conquered the Cholas and thus obtained wealth. His son Prola (I) is said to have driven away the chieftains of Bhadrangapura and conquered Chakrakuta, Konkanamandala, Purakūdesa, the son of Kodvarti Dugga and Gonna. Afterwards Prola obtained Anumakonda Vishaya from Trailokya Malladeva. His son was Beta (II) the donor of the inscription.
2	Near the Police outpost, KAZIPET in the Warangal Dist.	Beta	...	Canarese	Mentions that Mahamandalesvara Kakatiya Betēśa instituted Varuna for the merit of his father Polarasa.
3	At GUDURU in the Warangal District.		...	Telugu	Gives the following genealogy of a Durjaya family:— VENNA | ERRA = Kamasani. Mentions that Erra took up the cause of Botta Beta and instituted him as lord of the Koravi country. His wife made him the Kakati Vallabha. This inscription brings to light new facts about the rise of the Kakatiyas and deserves very careful consideration.

	Prola II	...	Canarese	
1	Near the Police outpost, KAZIPET in the Warangal Dist.	...		Registers the gift of Prola, son of Beta of Durjaya family.
5	Near the idol of Bhairava in a cave at INUGURTI, in the Warangal Dist.	...		Mentions that Prola instituted Jalandhara Bhairava on a hill at Inugurti.
6	At MATERU in the Warangal Dist.	S. 1041	Telugu	Mentions that a subordinate of Tribhuvanamalla, restored to the Kakatiyas, the Andhra kingdom which was usurped by their cousins. The significance of this important fact deserves careful consideration.
7	Do.	S. 1043	Do.	Registers the gift of a certain Mallenayaka, subordinate of Mahamandalesvara Kakatiya Prola Raja.
8	On the bund of the Madireddi kunta at Hanumakonda.	...	Do.	Mentions Ramesvara Dikshita and calls him <i>Māheshvaragrāmaṇi</i> Prola II alias <i>Chalamartiganda</i> is said to have been his pupil.
9	At KARIMNAGAR in the Karimnagar Dist.	S. 1092	Do.	Written in beautiful Telugu verse, this record mentions the many deeds of piety of Gangadhara a minister of Rudra and one of the palace officials in the time of Prola. It shows that the Buddhist and Jain Cults were prevalent at that time and also gives many topographical details about Anumakonda and its neighbourhood.
10	On a pillar at PILLALAMARRI in the Nalgonda Dist.	S. 1117	Sanskrit and Telugu	Registers a gift of Recherrula Nami Reddi, son of Kama and Kachamba, to three gods instituted by him after the names of his parents and of himself. He calls himself a subordinate of Rudra who is said to have been ruling in the year of the gift, which is probably the last year of the monarch

	Place	King	Date	Language	Remarks
11	At BEKKALLU	Rudra	S. 1117	Telugu	Registers the gifts of Gāhicha Rāhut brother of Goyya Rāhut and Bayya Rāhut the vassals of the king. The latter is said to be ruling from Warangal at this time. (cf. the <i>Śivayogasāramu</i> which bears this out.)
12	At KONDIPARTI in the Warangal Dist.	Ganapati	S. 1113	Sanskrit	Registers the gift of Chaunda Senani of the Malyala family and a general of Ganapati. His pedigree is thus given:— DANNA | SAJJA | * (a general of Kakati Rudra)
13	On a pillar at PILLALAMARRI in the Nalgonda Dist.	Do.	S. 1124	Sanskrit and Telugu	Pota Chaunda (The donor) Registers the gift of Namireddi to the various gods at Pillalamarri and enumerates his titles. It also depicts the following geneology of the Recherla family:— BAMMA | MUCCHA | KATA | KAMA = Kachamba. | NAMA = Itama.

No.	Place	Place	Date	Language	Remarks
14	At JALALPUR in the Nalgonda Dist.	Ganapati	S. 1124	Sanskrit in Telugu	Registers the gift of a Cheruku Bolli Reddi. A very long inscription giving the history of the family. The date of the gift is of unique importance because, for the first time we come across a grant dated between 1199-1209. When Ganapati was a prisoner at Devagiri.
15	At NAGULAPADU in the Nalgonda Dist.	Do.	S. 1124	Telugu	Registers a gift of Nami Reddi.
16	At PILLALAMARRI in the Nalgonda Dist.	Do.	S. 1130	Sanskrit & Telugu	Registers a gift of Eraka Sani wife of Recherla Beti Reddi.
17	At ANNANAVARAM in the Nalgonda Dist.	Do.	Do.	Telugu	Registers the gift of Recherla Keddi Reddi son of Itambika.
18	At VADAPALLI in the Nalgonda Dist.	Do.	S. 1133	Do.	Registers the joint gift of Komare Nayaka Bete Nayaka and Rudra Nayaka for the merit of their father Kata Nayaka and their overlord Ganapati Deva Maharaja.
19	In an old temple at SOMAVARAM in the Nalgonda Dt.	Do.	S. 1135	Do.	Registers a gift for the merit of Recherula Beti Reddi.
20	At SOMAVARAM in the Nalgonda Dist.	Do.	S. 1156	Do.	Registers a gift of Resarle Nami Reddi for the merit of his parents and of himself.
21	In an old shrine at NAGULAPADU in the Nalgonda dist.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Registers the gift of Mandalika Recherla Katreddi, son of Nami Reddi and Itasānamma, for the merit of himself and his parents in the reign of his overlord Ganapatideva.

	In the ruined fort of KONDI-PARTI in the Warangal Dt.	Ganapati	S. 1162	Sanskrit	Mentions that Kata Chamupati of the Malyala family instituted the gods Prolesvara, Achutesvara and Rudresvara. His pedigree is given in this record.
23	Near a ruined Siva shrine at GANAPAVARAM in the Nalgonda Dist.	Do.	S. 1175	Do.	Mentions a Jagaddeva whose son was Devabhūpala and says that after Jagaddeva, Kakati Prola ruled the kingdom. Ganapati, his father Mahadeva and uncle Rudra are also mentioned.
24	At NAGULAPADU in the Warangal Dist.	Do.	S. 1180	Telugu	Registers the gift of Recherla Kami Reddi son of Itambika and enumerates the titles of this family of Kakatiya feudatories.
25	In a mosque at BUDAPUR in teh Mahaboob Nagar Dist.	Do.	S. 1181	Sanskrit & Telugu	Records the building of two temples by Malvala Gundaya, a general of Ganapati. This record is of very great importance to Kakatiya history, since it clearly and definitely mentions that the Kakatiyas were of the fourth caste.
26	Do.	Do.	S. 1184	Do.	Mentions that Malyala Gundaya built a tank in the name of Ganapati and gave it to brahmins. It also gives the following pedigree of Gundaya's family:— <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; margin-left: 20px;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> Danna. | Java. | Gunda. </div> <div style="font-size: 2em; margin-right: 10px;">}</div> <div> This record further states that Ganapati was associated with the Government of the country even while Rudra was alive. </div> </div>
27	At WARANGAL near Khan Saheb's Garden.	Do.	Sarvadhari	Do.	Mentions that the king remitted the taxes collected over several articles of merchandise in favour of God Virabhadreshvara. It throws much light on the economic conditions of those times.

No.	Place	King	Date	Language	Remarks
28	At MUPPAVARAM in the Warangal Dist.	Ganapati	Sarva-dharin	Telugu	Mentions that Malli Reddi, son of Pantu Bolli Reddi instituted God Rāmesvaradēva. This is the earliest evidence of the existence of the Pantu family of Reddis.
29	At SOMAVARAM in the Nalgonda Dist.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Registers a private gift for the joint merit of Ganapatidēva Mahārāja and Recherūla Ruddu Raddi.
30	At NAGULAPADU in the Nalgonda Dist.	Do.	Raktakshi	Do.	Registers the joint gift of Ganapi Reddi and Marreddi for the merit of their parents Kami Reddi and Kamasani and of themselves.
31	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Registers the joint gift of Kamaya, Namaya and Mallaya, for the merit of their parents Katreddi and Parasāni; it also mentions the individual gifts of Namaya & Kamaya in the year <i>K-haya</i> . Evidently Mallaya was dead by this time.
32	At PAMVI in the Warangal Dist.	Ganani Rudra-Deva-Maha-Raja	S. 1156	Do.	Registers a gift of Mahāsāmanta Viryala Naga-sānamma garu on the occasion of the institution of god Prasanna Vallabha by Devanapreggada. This record gives many interesting details about temple administration in those times.
33	At JALALPUR in the Nalgonda Dist.	Rudra Deva	S. 1175	Sanskrit & Telugu	Registers the gift of Cheruku Bolli Reddi a general of Rudradēva alias Rudramba. This record is of very great importance since it mentions that the queen was ruling even in 1253 A.D. The date is actually given as Pramādi, Nija Vaisakha, Sukla Panchami which fell on a Friday.

34	In the Narasimha temple at BURUGUGADDA in the Nal-Maha Rajah gonda Dist.	Rudra Deva	S. 1180	Telugu	Registers the gift by a brother of Satramu Bollamaraju, a minister of the queen. The invocatory verse in this inscription indicates the prevalence of Sri Vaishnava faith at this time.
35	At PANAGAL in the Nalgonda Dist.	Do.	S. 1187	Do.	Registers the gift of Praudha Pratapa Chakravarti Sarangapani Deva to god Chāyā Somanatha-Deva of Panugal. This chieftain is a subordinate of Ganapati & Rudrama and ruler of Panuganti-Sthala, and an enemy of Devaradabhupati, Jajjaladeva and Bhoja Raja.
36	At BUDAPUR in the Mahaboob Nagar Dist.	Do.	S. 1198	Telugu & Sanskrit	Mentions that Kuppambika, wife of Malyala Gundaya, a subordinate of the queen, instituted a <i>Linga</i> in honour of her dead husband and made elaborate provision for the worship of the god. She was born in the "Gona" family. The poet Isvarabhattacharya is said to have composed the inscription.
37	At PAMAPURAM in the Mahaboob Nagar Dist.	Do.	S. 1200	Telugu	Mentions that a certain Videmu Madaya granted the "Sunkamu" of the village of Ponnammuccha to god Rāmanāthadēva.
38	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Registers a gift of the local tax (Sunkamu) by a certain Annama Raju.
39	In the Somanatha temple at KOLANUPAKA in the Nalgonda Dist.	Do.	...	Sanskrit	Registers the gift of a certain Poti Nayaka, a servant of the Kakatiyas. This inscription is of paramount importance to Kakatiya history. It gives the genealogy from Prola to Rudrama, mentions that the latter was the daughter of Ganapati, and that Virabhadra son of Indusekhara of the Chalukyan family, was her husband.
40	At PANAGAL in the Nalgonda Dist.	Do.	...	Telugu	Registers the gift of Tantrapala Mallinayaka. Evidently a record of the time of Rudrama.

No.	Place	King	Date	Language	Remarks
41	At PANAGAL in the Nalgonda Dist.	Pratapa-Rudra	S. 1213	Telugu & Sanskrit	Registers a gift of Sārangapāṇidēva, a feudatory. Useful for the determination of the commencement of the monarch's reign.
42	In the Vishnu temple at GANAPAVARAM in the Nalgonda Dist.	Do.	S. 1214	Telugu	Registers a gift of Gangidēvaninagaru, a minister of the king. The king is here called "Pratapa Kumāra Rudradēva."
43	At MANUR in the Medak Dt.	Do.	S. 1216	Do.	Registers the joint gift of Videmu Rudradeva and Anumakonda Annuvenka, two subordinates of the king. These persons also figure in the Local Records of the Kurnool District in connection with Pratapa Rudra's economic re-organisation of that region.
44	At ALAMPUR in the Raichur Dist.	Do.	S. 1221	Do.	Registers a gift by several <i>Settis</i> , professing the cult of Virabhadra.
45	At NAGULPADU in the Nalgonda Dist.	Do.	S. 1225	Do.	Registers a gift of the eighteen communities of the locality, for the merit of the king.
46	In the Anjaneya temple at TERMAL in the Medak Dt.	Do.	S. 1230	Do.	Registers the gift of Puravari Mahādēva Nāyankulu the Mahāpradhāni of the king.
47	In the Svayambhu temple at MELLA-CHERUVU in the Nalgonda Dist.	Do.	S. 1233	Do.	Records a gift of several communities of the place.
48	At WARANGAL in the Warangal Dist.	...	...	Sanskrit	The earlier part evidently refers to Prola's father and mentions Prola and his son Mahadeva. A certain Upamanyu Muni and a Dhruvēśvara Muniśvara, a saivite teacher are also mentioned.

	In the Rudresvara temple at HANUMAKONDA in the Warangal Dist.	...	...	Telugu	Mentions that a certain Gōsagi Isvaradēva instituted a number of gods for the prosperity of the kingdom of the "Kakatiyas" who were "his overlords."
50	At GARLA in the Warangal Dist.	Boppa Rāya	S. 1259	Sanskrit	It gives the following pedigree of the Rēcherla family belonging to the fourth caste. Boppa | Gaṇa Nātha | Boppa (The Donor)
51	At INUGURTI in the same Dist.	...	...	Do.	Mentions Viryāla Bayyāmbika
52	At GUDUR in the same Dist.	Malla	...	Canarese	Gives the following geneology of the Viryāla family— Sūra | Beta = Bejjama | Malla A certain Viryāla Nagasānamma figures as a feudatory of the Kakatiyas. Her relation to this family is not known.

THE HISTORY OF THE EASTERN GANGAS OF KALINGA.

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

(Continued from page 64 of Vol. VII, Part I.)

Chapter V.

The history of Anantavarma Chodaganga's reign is also known to us from certain stone inscriptions¹¹⁷ found in Tekkali and Bobbili Taluks. An inscription found on a slab from Akkavaram, preserved in Tekkali Rajah's palace and dated Ś. 1063 (A. D. 1141), seems to record the gift of a lamp, possibly to the God of Garakhōna *vishaya* byJala-mahādēvulu, perhaps a Queen of Chōḍagaṅga.¹¹⁸ The Nilakaṇṭhēśvara temple in Nārāyanapuram contains 55 stone inscriptions of which one ¹¹⁹ records the setting up of the image of Aditya (Sun-God) in that temple in the reign of Rāja Rāja and the rest, belonging to the reign of Chōḍagaṅga, record the grants of lands or cash (generally 5 *Māḍas*) or cows (*Modarulu*) for burning a perpetual lamp or for the daily cake-offerings in the temple or for the success of the king's arms or for the merit of the donors, given either by the king's relations or by officers or by private individuals. The grants were made on the occasion of eclipses (*Grahaṇams*) or solstices (*Samkrāntis*) or other ceremonial times.

One Inscription ¹²⁰ dated Ś. 1066, written in Telugu alphabet and Sanskrit language, records the renewal by Bachana, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, of a gift of lamp made in Śaka 869 in the time of his ancestor, the minister Pōta, to the temple of Nilēśvara and this shows that the temple was built even before Ś. 869 or A. D. 947. No. 639 records the gift of 5 cows for a twilight lamp No. 645 dated Ś. 1050 registers the gift of 5 *Māḍas* (gold coins) by *Furavari* Somanātha for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp. The grant was left in charge of the residents of Nāvapalli. No. 648, found on a pillar in the maṇḍapam in front of the central shrine of the same temple is dated Śaka 1074 and it belongs to the reign of Chōḍagaṅgadēva. It records that, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, a certain *Sēnāpati* (commander) and *Mohāsandhi-vigrahi* (Secretary-in-chief for peace and war) of the king granted some land for the daily cake-offerings in the temple of Nilēśvara. No. 649, dated Ś. 1051 registers the gift of 5 *māḍas* by Rajendra-Chōḍadēva, the son of Pedda-Permādirāju for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp. No. 650 which belongs to the 67th regnal year of Anantavarmadēva also registers the grant of some land by Permādi, a servant of Śri Chōḍagaṅga. No. 651 dated Ś. 1039 records the gift of 5 *māḍas* for a lamp in the temple by the daughter of a certain Aytaya who was said to be the wife of a Permādirāja. No. 657 dated Ś. 1040 refers to a gift of a lamp to the temple on the occasion of Vishnu-Samkrānti by Sūrama, the

117 Vide A. R. on S. I. Ep. for 1926—27, pp. 19—22.

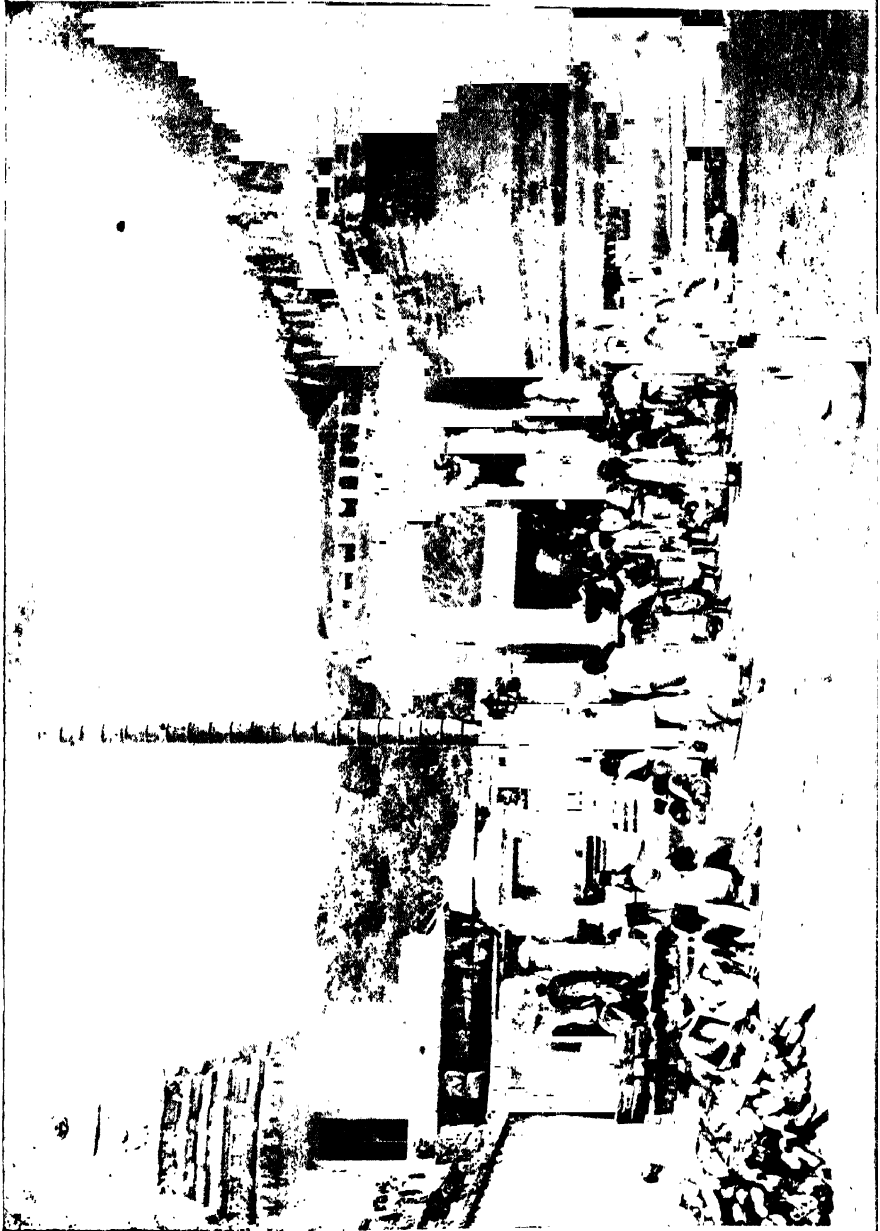
118 Ibid No. 636.

119 No. 640. It is significant that its language is Oriya and alphabet Sanskrit.

120. Ibid No. 644.

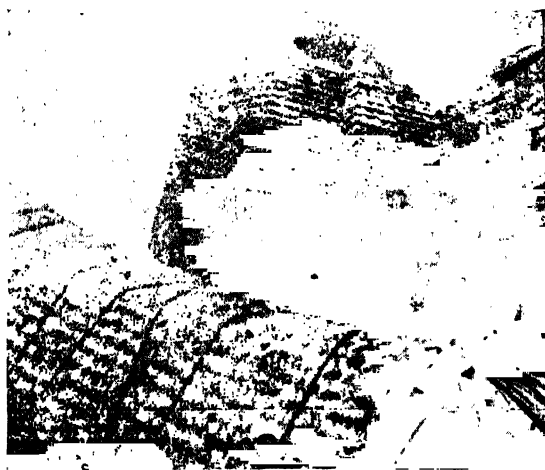
Queen of Permāṇḍirāju. No. 688 refers to Ś. 1054 as equivalent to the regnal year 59 of the Eastern Gaṅga king *Mahārājādhirāja* Anantavarmadēva, and states that, on the occasion of Uttarāyana-Samkranti, a grant of 5 *māḍas* was made for a perpetual lamp by Ulayigaṇḍa-Permāḍidēva, the younger brother of Chōḍagaṅgadēva. The trust was kept with the 30 families of Nāvapalli. No. 690, dated Ś. 1061, refers to a similar gift made by Rājendra-Chōḍadēva, the son of Pedda-Permāḍirāju. From a study of these inscriptions, we learn the new historical facts stated already that Chōḍa-Gaṅga had a brother named Ulayigaṇḍa-Permāḍirāju alias Pedda-Permāḍirāju who married a certain Sūrama and they had a son called Rājendra-Chōḍadēva who made gifts in Ś. 1061 or A.D. 1149 to the temple of Nilēśvaradēvara. We have already learnt from the Visag C. P. Grant of Anantavarma-Chōḍagaṅga dated Ś. 1057 (A.D. 1135) that he granted the village of Samuda with its hamlet of Tirlingi in the Sammaga *vishaya* to Chōḍagaṅga, son of Permāḍidēva and Mamkama. These are to be identified with Ulagiyam vamda Permāḍi and Mamkama mentioned in Inscr. Nos. 1015, and 1019 in S. I. Inscr. Vol. V. It is probable that Mamkama is another name for Sūrama. She has also another name Pallavamahādēvi.¹²¹ Chōḍagaṅga had also another name Rājendrachōḍadēva. He was a *Mahāmaṇḍalika* or Viceroy of the region extending from Bobbili to Tekkali and he probably helped his paternal uncle along with his father in his conquest of Utkala in A. D. 1135, the year of the C. P. Grant referred to above.

From the Narāyanapuram Temple inscriptions, we also learn about the designations of some Eastern Gaṅga subordinates at the time. For instance, No. 648 refers to a *Śenapati* (Commander) and *Mahāsandhivigrahi* (Secretary-in-chief for peace and war) of the King. No. 654 refers to a certain *Śrīkarana* Potana. Nos. 655 and 656 refer to an officer of the king who had the title of *Śrī bhuja Daṇḍanāyaka* (Illustrious Magistrate). Nos. 659 and 660 refer to a certain Sarvadeva, a *Śenapati* of the king. No. 662 refers to a certain Guṇḍaya, son of Kantama-Nāyaka who was the *Śrīkarana* (Accountant) and *Rāchapuravari* (Royal headman of the town). Nos. 664, 666 and 676 refer to a certain Sūraparaju who gave 35 cows (*Medavulu*) for a perpetual lamp in the name of his elder brother, Jaitrarāju and for the merit of his parents. Nos. 674, 678, 680, 685 and 692 refer to gifts made by Setṭis and Nāyakas for the success and prosperity of Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅga's arms. It is significant that in Ś. 1059, equal to the regnal year 63, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, a lady called Viñjama, who was the *Guḍisāni* (a maid devoted to the service of the temple)





The Paraśurameśwara Temple in Bhuvanēśwaram.



The Nārāyaṇapuram Temple,

made a gift of 5 *māḍas*¹²² to the temple of Nīlēśvara or Nīlakanthēśvara for burning a lamp in perpetuity. It is believed that the burning of lamps in Saivite Temples would increase merit. The exact value of a *māḍa* is not known but since 35 cows were also given for burning one lamp, it is probable that one gold *Māḍa* fetched 7 cows. The same lady gave in Ś. 1053,¹²³ on the occasion of Uttarāyana-Samkrānti, a similar gift for the success of the arms of Chōḍagaṅgādēva and her father first set the example in Ś. 1044.¹²⁴ No. 682 dated Ś. 1041 refers to the gift of 5 *māḍas* for a lamp in the temple by Nallamāṅkana, the *lanka* (writer) of Vira-chōḍadēva. If this prince was the son of Kulōttungadēva and if he was the viceroy of Vengi, then, the date should be Ś. 1014 or Ś. 1004 as, at that time, he himself paid a visit to Mukhalingam, the capital of the E. Gaṅgas and made rich gifts of land to Madhukēśvara of the place.¹²⁵ No. 687, dated Ś. 1063, refers to the gift, made on the occasion of a solar eclipse, of 5 *māḍas* by Nāgadēva, the son of Kantama-dēva-Nāyaka and younger brother of Guṇḍama Nāyaka, the *Rāchapura vari*. Kantama Nāyaka's father is named Kamchema Nāyaka. In the 63rd year of Chōḍagaṅga, in Śaka 1030 or A.D. 1137, a certain Revi-Nāyaka, son of Kommana Nāyaka and Erakama Nāyakuralu gave a gift of money for a perpetual lamp in the temple of Karañjēśvara at Ippili in Chicacole Taluq.¹²⁶ An inscription dated Śaka 1063 or A. D. 1141, found in a Śiva temple in Dimilāḍa,¹²⁷ 4 miles to the east of Tekkali in the Ganjam Dt., records that Anantavarma granted five lamps in perpetuity to god Champakēśvara, after worshipping the deity along with his wife with the desire to be blessed with a son.

Similarly, the inscriptions of Chōḍagaṅga, of his several wives, of his brother and his family, and of his several ministers are found in the Bhīmēśvara temple at Drākshārāma in E. Godavari District. Of these, those of the ministers are yet to be mentioned. One inscription¹²⁸ dated Ś. 1059 refers to the gift of Mallaya, son of Dhāmināyaka, a minister of Chōḍagaṅga. Another¹²⁹ dated Ś. 1030 refers to the gift of a Rēchana, the *Sandhivigrahi* (Minister for peace and war) of the Lord of Trikalinga. Yet another¹³⁰ dated Ś. 1003 refers to the gift of lamp and 50 she-buffalos to god Bhīmēśa by Baṇapati, the Brahmin minister and commander of Chōḍagaṅga and his father Rāja Rāja I. Two inscriptions¹³¹ state that the Emperor endowed a choultry named after himself with

122 No. 673. 123 No. 680. 124 No. 681.

125 No. 1005 in S. I. Inserr. Vol V.

126 No. 2 in A. R. on S. I. Ep. for 1929-30.

127 J. A. H. R. S. Vol IV, pp. 163-164.

128 No. 1185 in S. I. Inserr. Vol IV. 129 Ibid. No. 1863

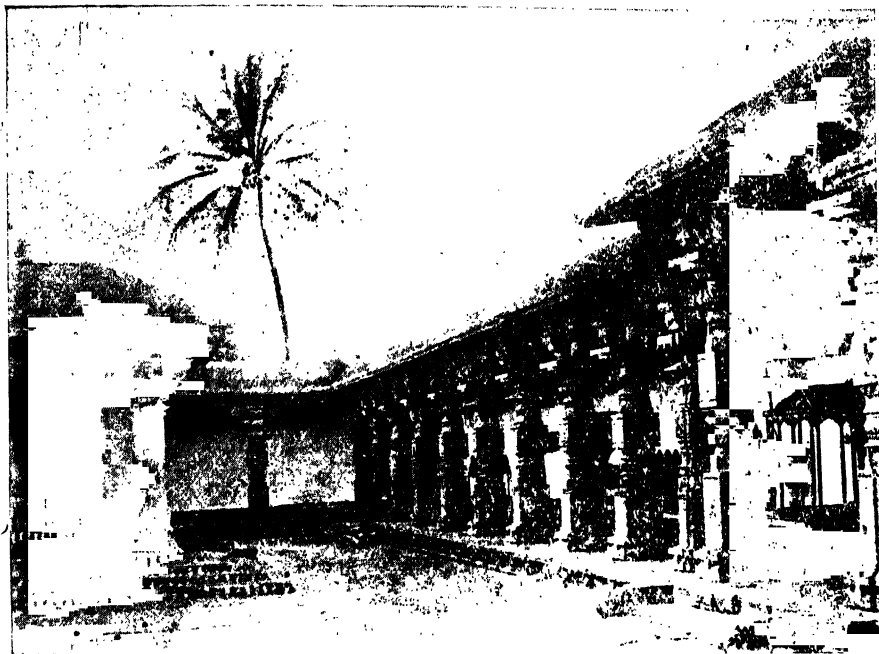
130 Ibid.No. 1006 131 Nos. 1015, and 1016,

rich gifts and that it was already found at Pedalāki-rēmi (Modern Drākshārāmam) in Guddavādināḍu (Ramachendrapur Taluq).

It is peculiar that his inscriptions are not found in Simhachelam Temple though several of his descendants are found therein. It cannot be that the temple was not built by his time because a few inscriptions of his period are found inscribed therein and they belong to the reign of Kulōttunga or Rājēndrachōla II of the Chalukya-chōla dynasty. Probably the temple did not attract his notice as it was still new. His Mukhalingam and Sri Kūrmam Temple inscriptions¹³², noticed below, are the most important of all as they throw a flood of light on economic and social as well as political and religious conditions of the times. Most of the grants were executed by the Nāyakas of Nagarapu-vāḍa and by the Head of the town (*Puravari* of Nagara-kaṭakam). The different offices and their designations as well as the several divisions of the Empire are all mentioned in the inscriptions. For instance, No. 1011 refers to a *Dakshinadaṇḍa* (Officer in charge of the southern Route), No. 1013 to *Sāhini* (Military officer), No. 1014 to *Chōḍanāḍu*, No. 1016 to *Daṇḍanāyaka* (Magistrate), No. 1025 to *Guḍisāni* (Temple maid), No. 1031 to *Puravari* (Town-head), No. 1034 to *Puravari* and *Karaṇa* (Accountant) No. 1035 to *Lavaṇakarālhikāri* (Salt tax officer), No. 1036 to *Pradhāni* (Minister), No. 1037 to *Nāyakulu* (Aldermen), No. 1039 to *Aruvāṭināḍu* (Tamil country), No. 1041 to *Mālabhaṇḍāramuna Mudrahasta* (Officer controlling Seal of the Reserve Treasury) and *Varāhavartani* (Parlakimidi Taluq), No. 1046 to *Maṇḍitikudū* (Governor of a province), No. 1052 to *Rāchapīḍihasta* (officer in charge of Royal measures) No. 1055 to *Brahmmanāyāṇḍu* (Brahmin with Kingly power), No. 1060 to *Sēnāri* (Leader of the army), No. 1061 to *Susanakudū* (Inscriber of Royal orders), No. 1073 to *Mahāmaṇḍalika* (Governor in-chief of a province), No. 1083 to *Raṭṭuli* (Reḍḍi or Head of a village) and *Bōyaḍu* (Conveyer), No. 1090 to *Sēnāpati* (Head of the army), No. 1101 to *Mantri* (Counsellor), No. 1106 to *Sēnādhipāyēsari* (Commander-in-chief) and *Srī matsāhaya-nāyaka* (the illustrious Leader of military forces), No. 1107 to *Gajasāhani* (Leader of elephant forces), No. 1118 to *Fājari* (Votary of God), No. 1281 to *Mahādaṇḍavāsi* (Inspector-general of police) and No. 1342 to *Brahmmadāyam* (Gift to Brahmin).

From the foregoing accounts, supplied by the C.P. grants and stone inscriptions, it is learnt that the Kalinga Empire was subject to a highly organised administrative machinery. The Emperor, called *Mahārājādhirāja*

132 *S. I. Inscr.* Vol V, Nos. 1005—1148 and 1150—1342. His inscriptions, found at Arasavilli, Ravipadu, Ronanki, Dirghasi, and other places, are also important.



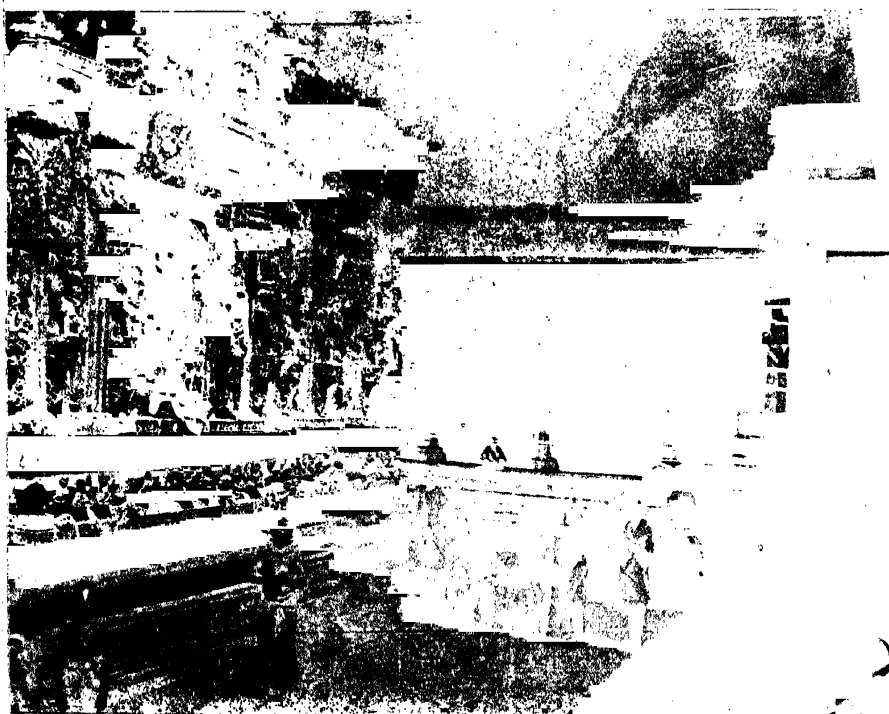
The interior Mantapam and Pillars containing inscriptions.



The frontal *Mantapam* and Temple of Srikürmañi



Varāha Narasimha Temple in Simhāchalam.



The Nāṭyamantapam in Simhāchalam Temple.

(Paramount Sovereign), enjoyed absolute powers exercising them however with the advice of his ministers and commanders and local chiefs. Much respect was shown to the customs and usages then prevalent among the several classes of people. There was a regular hierarchy of officials ruling over the several subdivisions into which the Empire was divided. The highest division is known as *Mahāmaṇḍala* or great province which was ruled over by *Mahārājakas* or *Mahāmaṇḍalikas* or Governors-General. It was divided into a number of *Maṇḍalas* or provinces and each was under a *Rājaka* or *Maṇḍulika* or Governor. A *Maṇḍala* was divided into a number of *Nāḍus* or *Vishayas* or *Bhogas* or Districts and each was under a *Vishayapati* or Lord of the District. Each *Nāḍu* consisted of several hundreds of *Grāmas* or villages and each *Grāma* was under a *Gramika* or Head of the village. Each village had a number of *Pallis* or hamlets attached to it and subject to its control. Besides, there were *Nagaras* or cities and *Puras* or Towns. For instance, Kalinganagara which was the royal residence was a city, while Bhōgapura, Dantapura, Simhapura, Pishṭapura and Dākiremi were all towns where the provincial or district Heads resided. There were also sea-port towns like Kalingapaṭṭaṇa, Viśākhapaṭṭaṇa, and Bhimilipaṭṭaṇa which were centres of growing trade.

From the inscriptions, we learn the names of the following *Nāḍus* or Districts:— Gaṁgaikoṇḍa Chōḍavalanāḍu Guddavāḍināḍu Jantarunāḍu, Saruḍanāḍu, Prōlanāḍu, Nunganāḍu, Pottapināḍu, Pākanāḍu Chōḍanāḍu (Chōḍavaram Taluq), Dimilivishayam (Elamanchili Taluq), Eradivishayam, Pāratālagām, Krōshṭuka, or Varāha vartani (Parlakimidi Taluq), Kulavantani (Chicacole Taluq), Virakottam (Pālakoṇḍa Taluq), Bobbili varadārapu vishayam, Jalamvuru, (Uṛlam), Rupavartani (Tekkali), Potnuru (Vīzianagaram), Vōmkhārabhōga and Prakkināḍu (Chipurapalli).

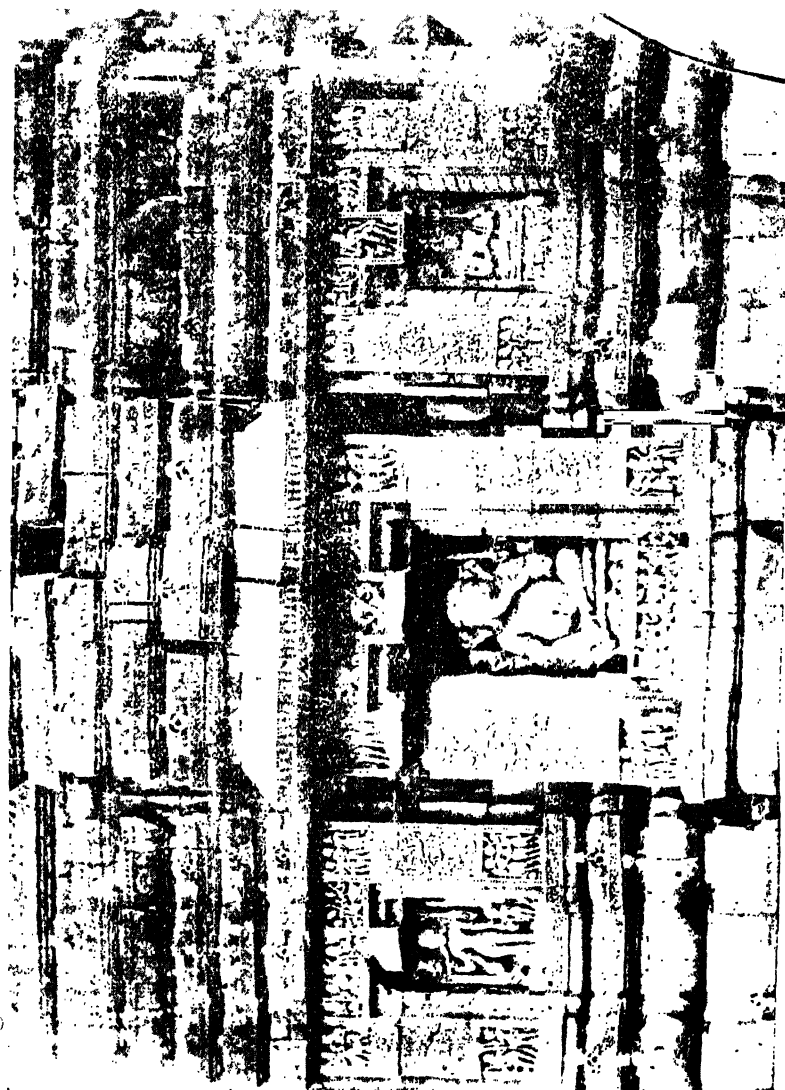
Most of the villages or hamlets, granted to Brāhmins or Temples or Ministers or Commanders are found in these *Nāḍus*. It is significant that the king, while making gifts of land, always assembled all the ministers, chiefs of the territorial units or villages and *Jānapadas* (country people) and informed them of the nature of grants and instructed them to observe the proper conduct of the same and usually appointed executors or trustees to see to the proper working of the royal gifts. He exempted such endowments from the payment of all royal dues including the six kinds of taxes and from all obstacles like the entry of regular or irregular soldiers and provided them with full water rights. It would appear that the village was, as a whole, collectively responsible for paying royal dues and for observing, what may be called, the king's peace. So long as these two responsibilities were properly observed, these villages—the lowest units of administration—were left as self-governing and

autonomous little republics in charge of the Grāmikas or Raṭṭaḍḍu who were helped by the other village officials like *Karaṇam* (Accountant), *Purohit* (Priest), *Daṇḍapāsi* or *Talavari* (Police Man), *Ūrikāvali* (Village watchman), and *Grāmabhāṭa* (Village servant). In towns, there were *Puravari* (Head of the town), *Daṇḍanāyaka* (Magistrate), *Daṇḍapāsi* (Police Inspector) and other officials. In the Royal capital of Kalinganagara, there were several officials of varying grades and types, mentioned already. The designations of some of them are significant. Thus, *Kalinganagarādhyaksha* (President or Superintendent of the capital city of Kalinga), *Kalinga rakshapālaka* (Prefect of the city), *Kalinganagarpālaka* (Chairman of the city), *Rājaguru* (Royal Priest), *Mahāpradhāni* (Prime minister), *Mahāsāndhivigrahi* (Secretary-General for peace and war), (*Mahāsēnāpati* (Commander-in-chief), *Mahābhāṇḍāramuṇi mudra-hasta* (Chancellor of the privy purse), *Mahādaṇḍavāsi* (Inspector general of police), *Mahāmaṇḍalika* (Governor-general) and Mahāpātra represent the supreme heads of some of the departments of the governmental machinery.

The Madras Museum plates¹³³ of Indravarmadēva like the Ganjam plates¹³⁴ of Prthvivarmadēva belong to 12th century A. D. The Royal Donors of both sets belonged to the Gaṅga Line and worshipped Gōkarṇēśvara of Mahēndragiri. Both made their grants from Svētaka (Modern Srikūrmam). Both were *Puramamāhēśvaras* and both made gifts of *agrahāras* to learned Brahmins, situated in Jalamvōra *vishaya* (Modern Jalvur or Jalmur near Urlam in Ganjam District.) The king's mentioned in both the sets of plates seem to be related to the Gaṅga Emperors and to have ruled over a part of the Ganjam district after the year 1135 A. D., when Chōḍagaṅga removed his capital to Cuttak in the north. Both the Grants mention the several official designations of the times showing clearly that the administration was highly organised. Thus, *Mahāsāmanta* (Great Feudal Lord), *Sāmanta* (Feudal Lord), *Rājānaka* (King's courtier), *Rājaputra* (King's son), *Kumārāmātya* (Minister to the Yuvarāja), *Uparika* (Supreme Lord), *Daṇḍanāyaka* (Magistrate), *Vishayapati* (Head of the District), *Grāmapati* (Head of the village), *Brahma Pura Grāmādhyaksha* (Superintendent of Brahmapura village) *Chāṭu* (Irregular soldier), *Bhāṭa* (Regular soldier), *Daṇḍapāsa* (Inspector of Police) and other officials are all mentioned in the Museum Grant. It was got written by the great door-keeper or chamberlain (*Mahāpratishāru* Aditya-varmma of the great vassal (*Mahāsāmanta*) Srī Nāga Khēḍi and

133 J. A. H. R. S. Vol. III, pp. 183—188.

134 Ep. Ind, Vol. IV, No. 26.



Sculpture in a niche in Somēśvara Temple: Vighnēśvara.



The Garbhālayam in Somēśwara Temple-Somēśwara in *linga* form.

actually written by the foreign secretary (*Sandhivigrahi*) Chandapāka and inscribed by the black-smith (*Kamcharaka*) Dēvapilāna.

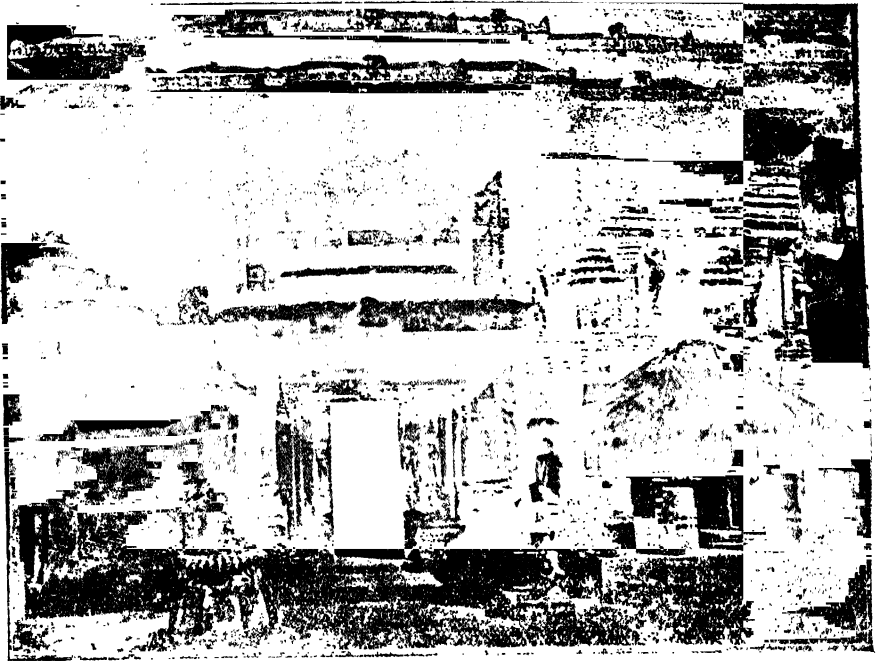
The Simhapura C. P. Grant of *Rāṇika* Dharmakhēdi dated 520 Gaṅga-kadamba Era (A.D. 1014) of the time of Dēvēndravarma mentions the following official titles:— *Pamchavishayamandaleśvara* (Governor of five Districts), *Rāṇaka* (Palatine Earl), *Amātya* (Minister), *Pamchāpātra* (Military Chief) *Pādāgraprakṛti* and *Rājapādōpajīvina* (Royal dependant), and *Jānapada* (Country People), *Sāmubhāji* (Advocate of peace) and *Rāshṭrakata Pradhānis* (Reddi chieftains). The inscriptions thus clearly show that the Emperor often toured about the land with his chief officers for administrative purposes and also paid particular attention to the spread of Vedic learning and Saivite faith. He was served by a hierarchy of military and civil feudatory officers called *Mahārājas*, *Mahāsāmantas*, *Yuvarājas*, *Mahāpradhānis*, *Mahārāṇakas*, *Mahāmaṇḍalikas*, *Mahāsandhivigrahikas*, *Mahāmahattaras*, *Mahālaṇḍanāyakas*, *Mahāsenopatis*, and *Mahāpātras*. These were all imperial officers who received their commands direct from the Emperor and superintended the work of the provincial officers. These were termed *Bhōgapatis*, or *Vishayapatis*, *Rāṇakas*, *Maṇḍalikas*, *Uparikas*, *Amātyas*, *Senāpatis* and *Pātras*. These, in their turn, supervised the work of the local officers called *Grāmikas*, *Karaṇikas*, *Talavātukas*, *Agrahārikas*, and *Kulumbīnas*. The minute administrative divisions into which the Empire was divided as well as the hierarchy of officials of all grades and ranks, civil and military, clearly show that the Gaṅga Empire in the 10th and 11th centuries reached a state of perfect organisation. That there was a Department of Records is proved by the presence of such officers like Notary-in-chief and Keeper of privy seal. The C. P. Grants of the Kadamba chieftains show that the mountain regions were strongly guarded by them. They were the Palatine Earls whom the Emperors trusted with such high command and position, owing to close matrimonial ties existing between the Gaṅgas and the Kadambas. The geographical position of Kalingadēsa, lying between the Sea on the east and the Ghats on the west, required a loyal and strong line of chieftains to protect the western passes as well as an efficient fleet to carry merchandise and passengers to the East Indies, Ceylon, Burma and even China. The historical remains of Kalinga civilisation, newly unearthed in these countries, proves the same.

The king's revenue was obtained chiefly from the crown lands, which yielded probably one-sixth of the produce to the Royal Treasury. In addition, the king obtained a large revenue from court fees and fines, customs dues and tolls, taxes levied on mines and forests, gifts and presents. The existence of an office like *Lavanakaraḍhikāri* shows that

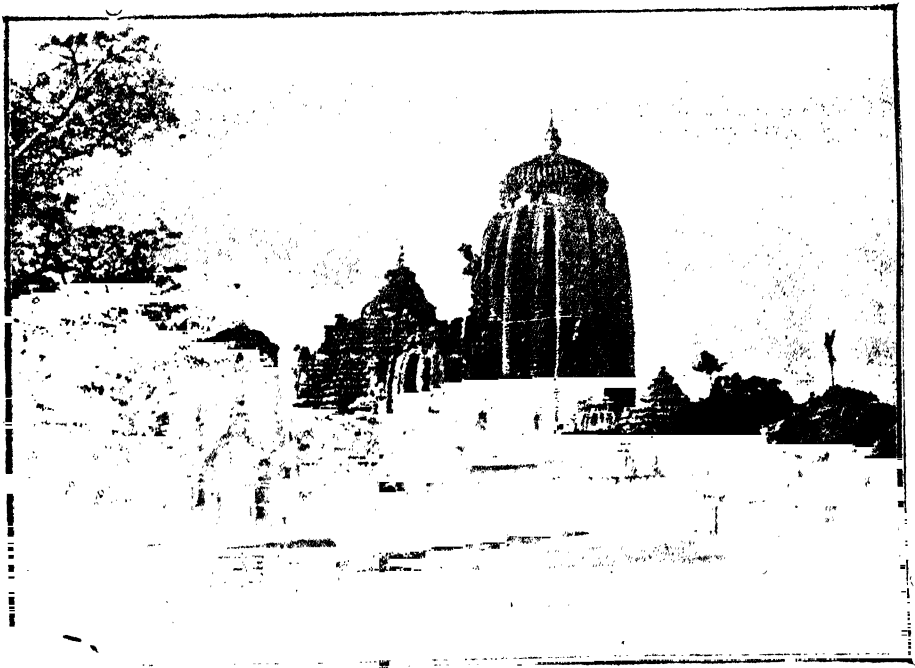
government, as at present, derived revenue from salt monopoly and probably also from *abkārī* (sale of liquors etc.). The royal expenditure was divided into four kinds viz; (1) That which was spent on administration particularly on army, navy and police. It should be noted that the several high feudatory officers held their offices by hereditary right enjoying the lands given for the purpose, (2) That which was spent on religion and learning. It should be noted that the State gave large and permanent land grants called *Āgrahāras* to Temples and Scholars and exempted them from the payment of all kinds of taxes due to the state and of customary rights formerly enjoyed by the people of the locality. (3) That which was spent on Public works—particularly in the Royal capital and other big towns—such as Palaces, Temples, Choultries, Roads, Tanks and Irrigation works. (4) That which was spent on king's own household. It should be noted that the king had to support always a large retinue of palace servants, foreign envoys and the needy and the helpless who waited on him. It would appear that the king kept a reserve against contingences like famine, pestilence and war as proved by the existence of an officer called *Mūlabhaṇḍāramuna Mudrahasta* (Officer handling the Seal of the Reserve Treasury).

That there was coinage of varied type and metal in existence at that time is proved by the mention of the following coins in inscriptions:— *Māḍas*, *Gaṇḍa māḍas*, *Malla māḍas*, *Matsya māḍas*, *Gaṇya māḍas*, *Chirugaṇḍa māḍas*, *Padmatidhi gaṇḍa māḍas*, *Kulōttunga māḍas*, *Chinnams*, *Paṇams*, *Gold tankas*, *Silver tankas*, *Sasukāṇi tanaks*, *Matsya gadyas* and *Nibandhas*. It would appear that gold and silver jewels as well as precious stones were granted by pious people to Gods and learned Brahmins. There was clearly a Department for weights and measures and another for minting coins of several denominations.

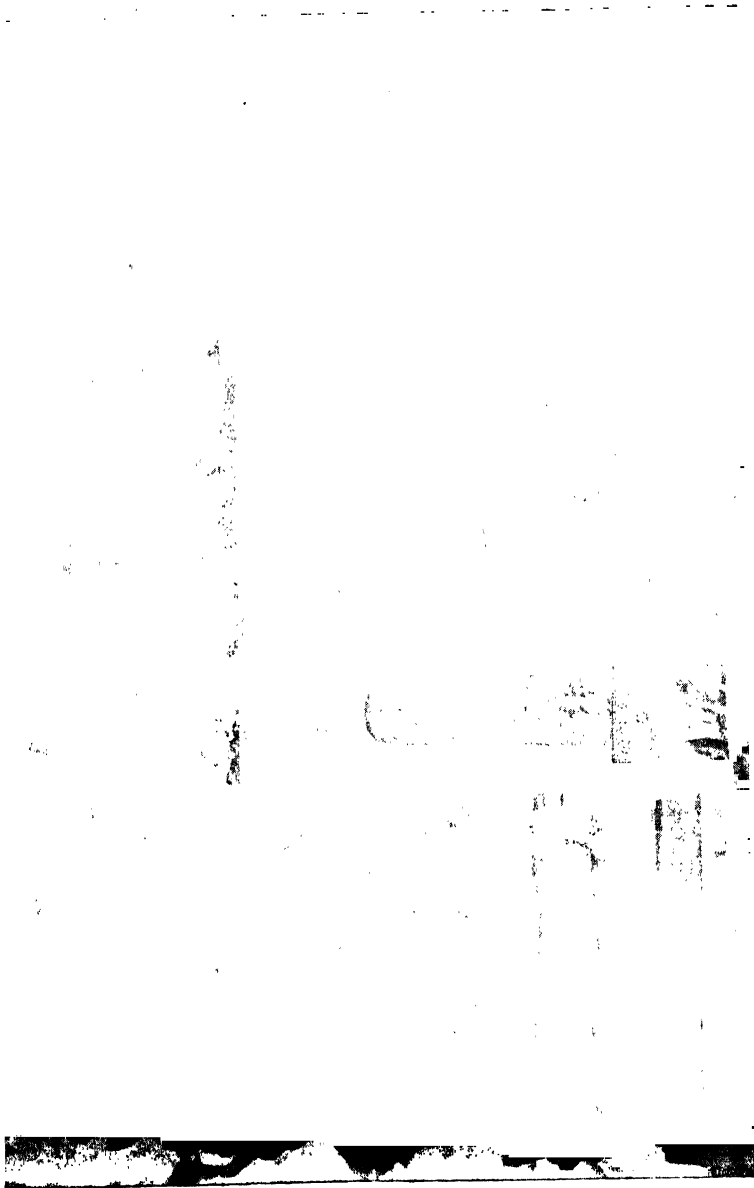
From the inscriptions, it is also clear that land was carefully surveyed, and measured and classified into various kinds of soils. The C. P. Grants show that the boundaries of the villages or lands granted are noted in great detail, while the measures of lands are named differently as *Murakas*, *Nivartanas*, *Guṇḍas*, *Putṭis* and *Hālas* or *Nāgalis* (Ploughshares).



The Southern gate of the Bhuvanēśwara Temple.



The Bhuvanēśwara Temple.



Sculpture in a niche in Somēśwara Temple-Kunārswami

REVIEWS.

(1) *Jyotirvinodini*:— by Mr. S. Venkata Aiyangar, published by the Karnāṭaka Sāhitya Parishat. The book is a translation of the English work, "Astronomy for Amateurs" by Francis. A. Welley. It is intended for the use of the general public. The style is impressive, and the subject matter clearly presented, being free from technical expressions. The book contains eight plates and numerous sketches. It more than fulfils the aim of the author and makes an excellent popular treatise on technical science.

(2) *Vaiśākhī*:— This is the second Annual number of the *Kavitāsamiti* of Vizagapatam. It contains many valuable contributions on the Telugu Language and Literature, many short stories and numerous pieces of poetry. Mr. Visvanadham's translation of a piece from the "Javenile budget" and Mr. Muddu Krishna's translation of H. Chattōpādhyāya's dramatic piece are really commendable. The papers on the *Dhwani* school and "Telugu and her sisters" are praiseworthy. Mr. G. V. Raghava Rao's original paper on "The Stars" enhances the value of the publication. The numerous pieces of Mr. Krishna Sastry's works, included towards the end, are rather vague, long-winded and indefinite. We trust that this publication of the *Kavitāsamiti* will be welcomed by the Andhra Public.

(3) *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*:—By Surēndra Kisor Chakraborty, M. A., Professor of History, A. M. College, Mymensingh.

We welcome this new book as a useful addition to the list of works on Indian coins. Without pretending to be altogether an original work on the subject, it brings together "the scraps of information which lie scattered in books" on the subject. The book deals mainly with North Indian coinage. It is divided into eight chapters. The first deals with "the Evolution of coinage" with reference to foreign countries, being a brief summary of accounts already published. The second deals with the same subject with reference to India. We cannot agree with the author's contention that Prof. Bhandarkar's view that coined money existed in India in the middle of third millennium B.C. lacks conviction when the latter has given good proof. We think that the author is uncertain in his mind as to the exact antiquity of coinage in ancient India when he writes on page 25 of his book that coins in the real sense came into use during the "later stage of the *Brāhmaṇa* period or in the beginning of the *Sātra* period" and asserts on page 33 that coinage was evolved at about 800 B. C. or 1000 B.C. (in the later stage of the *Vedic* period)!! With regard to the indigenous system of coinage, and its origin, he simply repeats the views already given by Prof. Bhandarkar. The third chapter on "Weights and coin denominations" is instructive just as the fourth chapter on "Metrology of the coins" is interesting. The fifth chapter enumerates the different modes of minting coins, while the sixth, dealing with "the State in relation to coinage," discusses the part played by it in fabricating and circulating the coins as compared to that of private bodies or individuals. The seventh chapter deals with "Coins with symbols" in a rather meagre way and one would wish that greater details are given and useful conclusions drawn from the same relating to the history and religion of the people. The eighth and the last chapter deals with "the Provenance and coin types". We look in vain for some illustrations. This is a serious defect. The get-up is good and we think that, on the whole, the work is useful.

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January 1933.

Part 3.

THE REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NORTHERN SARKARS. (1769-1786.)

DR. LANKA SUNDARAM, M.A. Ph.D. (Lond.), F.R. Econ. S; Stat. S.

(Continued from page 82 of Vol. VII, Part II.)

Chapter II.

General Caillaud and Charles Smith were not prepared for an arrangement under which full scope would have to be given to the vagaries of the Dubashes. They were equally unprepared for the direct management of the territories at a time when the Company's authority was not sufficiently well established and negotiations with Nizam Ali were still proceeding. They thought that Hussain Ali's appointment as the Company's renter would not result in its direct repudiation by Nizam Ali even though it might not evoke his warm welcome. The *status quo*, though there might not be much to recommend its continuance, would ease the minds of the people and facilitate the attempts of the government for the complete control of the Sarkars.

Hence, they countenanced the proposals of Hussain Ali to rent the Sarkars. These proposals were based on the understanding which he privately entered into with the President while he was at Madras.¹⁴⁵

145 The Government wrote home that as to Hussain Ali "we had not much to apprehend from him as, by a private agreement he had before entered into with the President, he engaged to put us in possession of the Cirkars whenever required" in exchange for a personal jagir. *Madras Letters Received* 1 April 1766 (Palk) para 3. Vol III.

Caillaud and Smith rejected his original proposal to pay twelve lakhs of Madras Pagodas for a period of three years, in which case the Company would have to bear the charges of collection. But being unable to settle any agreement definitely, they referred the matter to the decision of the Madras government.¹⁴⁶ The government appointed a sub Committee of the Council consisting of John Pybus and John Call to report on the matter.¹⁴⁷ The Committee submitted their opinion that the time for direct management had not yet come and that the interests of the Company would be best served by renting the Sarkars to Hussain Ali.¹⁴⁸ They recommended an annual rent of four lakhs of Madras Pagodas on the condition that Hussain Ali agreed to pay the previous year's balances or, if he rejected this and insisted on his personal *jagir* of 30,000 Pagodas a year and the Masulipatam *haveli* lands valued at 15,000 Pagodas, he should be required to pay 2,50,000, 2,50,000 and 3,00,000 Pagodas respectively for the first, second and third years, clear of the balance of 75,695 Pagodas still due from the zamindars and of all ordinary and extra-ordinary charges of collection.¹⁴⁹

While General Caillaud was still engaged in the negotiations at Hyderabad, Smith came to an agreement with Hussain Ali for the revenue management of the Sarkars. According to this agreement, *kauls* were drawn up in the names of Hussain Ali and Raja Srinivasa Jogi Pantulu Bahadur¹⁵⁰ for the Rajahmundry Sarkar at an annual rent of 3,83,500 Madras Pagodas. The Sarkars of Ellore and Mustafanagar were leased to Hussain Ali himself at Madras Pagodas 4,16,500 a year, thus making a total of eight lakhs of Pagodas for the three middle Sarkars. Both these leases were to run for a period of three years. The two renters further agreed to pay Madras Pagodas 6,500 a year for the

146 *Caillaud and Smith to Madras* 12 October 1766. *Milit. Cons.* 20 October Vol 57 pp. 306-11.

147 *Milit. Cons.* 20 October 1766 Vol. 57 pp. 311-15. Pybus was a former Chief of Masulipatam. Call had considerable experience of the affairs in the Sarkars, since on a previous occasion he visited Masulipatam to advise the Madras government on the defence of the Sarkars.

148 *Pybus and Call to Madras Fort. St. George* 25 October *Milit. Cons.* 27 October *idem* pp. 317-19.

149 *Idem* pp. 321-22 See also *Madras to Caillaud and Smith* 28 October pp 323-24. *Smith to Madras Masulipatam* 8 November *Milit Cons* 27 November *idem* pp 333-35 and enclosures pp. 335-37.

150 The Company's interpreter attached to the chiefship of Masulipatam. He was the same Jogi Pantulu who conducted the negotiations with Nizam Ali. These titles were conferred on him by the Court of Hyderabad along with the *majum-dari* of the Rajahmundry Sarkar.

support of the Company's troops detailed to assist them in their administration.¹⁵¹ The Madras government ratified these agreements on 17th November 1766 with the special proviso that Hussain Ali should pay half of the outstanding balances by January 1767.¹⁵² Ten days after these agreements had been concluded the government received information that the treaty of Hyderabad had been signed. Thus, before the end of 1766 the vigorous policy of the Madras government had justified itself.

Their first task was to establish the authority of the renters in the Sarkars by reducing the zamindars to obedience and inducing them to enter into agreements with the nominees of the Company since the latter were "destitute of any other means of paying the Company their rents but what their industry and experience may be able to raise out of the countries they had rented"¹⁵³ The zamindars of Ellore and Mustafanagar, especially Appa Rao, the formidable Raja of Nuzividu, immediately recognised the authority of Hussain Ali as the renter of these Sarkars.¹⁵⁴ But the Rajas of Peddapuram and Samalkota refused to acknowledge the joint authority of Hussain and Jogi Pantulu as renters of the Rajahmundry Sarkar. Owing to the fact that the Raja of Peddapuram was a minor and the rival factions in the family were unwilling to come to terms, force was used "as an example of this kind is absolutely necessary in order thoroughly to establish our authority in all the Sarkars".¹⁵⁵ The defiant attitude of the Peddapuram family had its repercussion on the zamindars in general and even Appa Rao and the Raja of Mugalaturru, who had previously negotiated with Hussain Ali, had now "absolutely declined settling on any terms, waiting until the dispute with the Peddapore Rajah is decided".¹⁵⁶ To overcome this difficulty and at the request of Hussain Ali, Charles Smith and Quintin Craufurd, a member of the Masulipatam Council, proceeded to Rajahmundry on 6 January 1767.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵¹ *Smith to Madras, op. cit.* pp. 333-37. See also *Madras Letters Received* 22 January 1767 (further letters) (Palk), paras 39 and 63-65 Vol. III.

¹⁵² *Milit. Cons.* 17 November 1766 and *Madras to Caillaud and Smith of the same date.* Vol. 57 pp. 337-38. See also *Masulipatam to Madras* 23 November *idem* 8 December *idem* pp. 360-61, intimating that Hussain Ali had accepted the additional condition imposed by the Madras government.

¹⁵³ *Smith and Craufurd to Madras* Rajahmundry, 29 January, 1767 *idem* 9 February Vol. 58 p. 95.

¹⁵⁴ *Masulipatam to Madras* 31 December 1766 *Milit. Cons.* 5 January 1767 Vol. 58 p. 3-6.

¹⁵⁵ *Idem* Bouchier's government which had recently succeeded that of Palk approved this procedure. See resolution on pp. 72-73.

¹⁵⁶ *Smith and Craufurd to Madras* Rajahmundry, 29 January, *Milit. Cons.* 9 February Vol. 58 pp. 94-96.

¹⁵⁷ *Same to same* Rajahmundry, 22 January *idem* 2 February, *idem* pp. 68-72

The Madras government rose equal to the occasion and ordered the detachment originally detailed for service with Nizam Ali to deal with the situation¹⁵⁸ Without a mere show of forces, Colonel Hart, procured the surrender of the fort at Peddapuram, and "as the grain has...been already collected and distributed among the Rajah's dependants", Smith and Craufurd thought it best to accommodate matters, since any other method "would have occasioned almost the entire loss of this year's revenues".¹⁵⁹ Niladri Rao,¹⁶⁰ Raja of Samalkota was more obdurate than the Peddapuram family and surrendered only after his fort had been stormed. Once again, the Madras government pursued a lenient policy. These two instances brought the zamindars to obey the authority of Hussain Ali and Jogi Pantulu. A settlement of the revenue affairs was carried through and thus the Company obtained the prospect of enjoying "the quiet and peaceable possession of these three Sarkars".¹⁶¹ But the details of this settlement are not available.

The Madras records are silent as regards the revenue management of these Sarkars for the three years they were leased out to Hussain Ali and Jogi Pantulu. The general attitude of the government seems to have been solely confined to the policing of the provinces without any attempt on their part to come into contact with the cultivators. The Court of Directors were emphatic on this line of policy. In their despatch of 24 March 1768, they wrote to Madras that "no European is to interfere in the collection of the revenues further than to receive the rents from Hussain Ally, or the Rajahs who held the districts (who) are to account to the Chiefs of Masulipatam and Vizagapatam as you shall direct, neither are they to interfere in the management of the government of the country further than to check the renters if guilty of any grievous oppressions".¹⁶²

When war broke out with Nizam Ali in 1769, Masulipatam withdrew all forces from the Chicacole Sarkar to concentrate on Khammamet and this secured the peace of these Sarkars. Hussain Ali himself sought and obtained additional military assistance since "the number of troops (originally) allotted him is not even sufficient to support his character among the zemindars with any kind of dignity" and since it would have been extremely difficult to settle the next year's *jamabandi*

158 *Smith and Craufurd to Madras Rajahmundry*, 29 January, *Milit. Cons.* 9 February Vol. 58 p 97 and *Madras to Masulipatam* 10 February *idem* p. 108.

159 *Same to same Rajahmundry*, 16 February *idem* 23 February *idem* pp. 188.

40. See also *Madras Letters Received* 21 March 1767 (Bourchier) paras 6-7 Vol III

160 The present Maharaja of Pithapuram is a descendant of Niladri Rao.

161 The Bourchier government approved these measures. See *Milit. Cons.* Vol. 58 p. 141 and *Madras to Masulipatam*, 24 February, Vol. 58 pp. 142-43.

162 *Madras Dispatches* 24 March 1768, para 46 Vol. IV p. 262,

without an adequate force.¹⁶³ But he was not successful in obtaining from the Madras government the special favour of an hereditary and personal *jagir* without reference to his office as the Company's renter. On this the Madras government wrote home that he had pressed them for "a distinct cowl for his Jaguer and to have it established as his property. We avoided giving him any such independant indulgence, but insisted on its being included in the Cowl for the Sarkars as a means of securing the fidelity of a man whose abilities may hereafter be useful on many occasions".¹⁶⁴

The Sarkars of Khammamet and Warangal in the Nizam's dominions were temporarily administered by the Madras government during the war with Nizam Ali in 1768. At this period several villages in the Khammamet Sarkar were interspersed with those of the Mustafanagar Sarkar and hence had been a source of constant friction between the renters of these two Sarkars.

Temporary revenue administration of Khammamet and Warangal: Hussain Ali as manager. The Sarkars of Khammamet and Warangal were parcelled out among numerous zamindars "almost every trifling farm being distinguished with this appellation, and the proprietor of this small tract keep(s) up a retinue and strictly adheres to an observance of all the ceremonials used by the people of this cast and distinction".¹⁶⁵ The revenues of these Sarkars were partly realised in grain. Both these features demanded the presence of a well-appointed *sibbandi* for the collection of the revenues.

The Masulipatam Council recommended that the appointment of a renter would be the best method of revenue management till they obtained a more complete knowledge of these Sarkars. They recommended that "the abilities, art and experience of Hussain Ally, the known timidity of his nature which destroys all ideas of enterprise¹⁶⁶ where his person may be exposed to danger, his dependence on us and the resentment entertained against him by the Soubah, joined to the contiguity of these Circars, points him out as the person to be entrusted with the care of them.¹⁶⁷ They further concluded that the expenses of the military forces necessary for the security of these Sarkars would be easily recovered from the revenues of the Khammamet Sarkar alone.

163 *Masulipatam to Madras* 20 November 1767. *Milit. Cons.* 27 November Vol. 60 pp 1, 296-97.

164 *Madras Letters Received* 4 November 1767 (Bourchier) para 11 Vol. III.

165 *Masulipatam to Madras* 29 January 1768. *Milit. Cons.* 11 February Vol. 61 pp. 157-160. Raja Aswa Rao of Palavancha was the most formidable of these zamindars

166 Thereby meaning, obviously, his incapacity to attempt any scheme subversive of the Company's authority.

167. *Op. Cit.* vol. 61, pp. 157-160

At a time when the Rukn-ud Daula was on his way to Madras to conclude the treaty of 1768, the government was not prepared to accept Hussain Ali's proposals. But they directed Masulipatam that "as much of the rents of those Circars as possible may be collected to assist (us) in defraying our expenses."¹⁶⁸ Curiously enough they had already assumed the general control of these Sarkars when they had induced Jafar Beg Khan, the Nizam's commandant of the fort of Khammamet, to surrender his charge in exchange for a personel *Jagir*¹⁶⁹ and after the treaty of Madras had been concluded, according to which the fort of Kondapalli and its adjacent *jagir* were ceded to the Company, they still retained the possession of these Sarkars until an envoy of the Nizam's government took charge of them. As such they directed Masulipatam "to cease to interfere in the management of these countries, (but) keep an exact account of the revenues they may have (already) collected."¹⁷⁰

At the instance of the Masulipatam Council, Hussain Ali deputed his *naib* to "take an account of the grain produced this season" in these Sarkars and "to follow such other measures as might be necessary for preventing its being carried off the ground".¹⁷¹ Jafar Beg arrived at Masulipatam and pressed for the grant of the *jagir* promised by the Madras government in the event of his surrendering the fort of Khammamet which he had already done.¹⁷² This fort was almost immediately delivered to one of the accredited servants of the Nizam along with the two Sarkars of Khammamet and Warangal.¹⁷³ The government kept their promise by granting Jafar Beg a *jagir* consisting of eleven villages in the Bezwada Taluk of the Kistna District.¹⁷⁴ Added to this,

168 Resolution of the Madras government. *Milit. Cons.* 11 February 1768. Vol. 61, p. 162, and *Madras to Masulipatam* of the same date, *idem* pp. 169—170.

169 We read that Jafar Beg later had "made an application to be put in possession of the Jaghir which was promised to him as a recompence for the surrendry of Commamet in virtue of your orders of 30th November last" *Masulipatam to Madras*, 19 March 1768. *Milit. Cons.* 25 March, *idem* p. 414.

170 *Milit. Cons.* 22 February *idem*, p. 209.

171 *Masulipatam to Madras* 18 February *Milit. Cons.* 5 March *idem* pp. 278—79.

172 *Masulipatam to Madras*, 19 March, *Milit. Cons.* 25 March. Vol. 61, p. 414.

173 *idem*. pp. 414—16.

174 The villages were Gollapudi, Tummalapalem, Zupuli, Mulapadu, Katalapadu, Ilaprolu, Bhavanipuram, Tada julli, Andukur, Muttalampadu and Bhimavaram.

I am not able to identify the last four villages. The first seven are situated on the northern bank of the Kistna above Bezwada. Bhimavaram, I. presume, should not be confused with its namesake and the headquarters of the Bhimavaram Taluk of the West Godavari District.

See also *Madras to Masulipatam*, 25 April, *idem*. pp. 530—39.

he was given the lease of the three villages, other than his *jagir* villages granted by Nizam Ali according to the treaty of 1768.¹⁷⁵

The fort and *jagir* of Kondapalli which had been acquired by the late treaty were incorporated with the Mustafanagar Sarkar. Hussain Ali was again given the preference as "the properest person to rent" the district. But in order to avoid any reproach of favouritism, they invited public offers for the rent of these acquisitions. As a result of this, Mosalkanti Kamari Pantulu submitted a proposal to rent the Kondapalli division.¹⁷⁶ But Hussain Ali's proposal was accepted as being the most favourable and the farm was let from the time of the acquisition of the territory¹⁷⁷ to 31st December 1769, by which time the Mustafanagar *kauls* would expire. This was done with a view to synchronise the periods of leases of all the Sarkars.¹⁷⁸

It is here necessary to note the disturbances in the Mailavaram zamindari, in the Bezwada taluk of the Kistna District, which ultimately led to the systematic reduction of the zamindari forces in the three Middle Sarkars. The death of the Raja and the succession of a minor threw the affairs of this tract into great confusion and finally resulted in the pillage by certain turbulent members of the family of Kondapalli *jagir* recently acquired by the Company. At the request of Hussain Ali, the Masulipatam Council deputed Capt. Billingham to suppress the revolt.¹⁷⁹

This incident focussed the attention of the Madras government on one of the most serious obstacles in the way of the effective administration of the Middle Sarkars. As Masulipatam put it: "The numberless forts with which these provinces abound alone render the zemindars formidable. Their undisciplined and ill-appointed followers can never in the field make any opposition of consequence to a regular body of troops, but while secured within their forts which are generally well-stocked with provisions, the reduction of them to obedience becomes a work of time and expense...No opportunity should be neglected of lessening their numbers, at the same time, without depriving the zemindars of their lands and other privileges. These most of them possess from ancient and hereditary descent, but the greater number of the forts have been erected

175 *Masulipatam to Madras*, 27 May. *Milit. Cons.* 8 June, idem, p. 706.

176 *Masulipatam to Madras* 23 March *Milit. Cons.* 25 March Vol. 61 pp. 432-37

177 The exact date of the acquisition of Kondapalli is not specific. All the while, the Masulipatam Council and Hussain Ali as chief renters enjoyed *de facto* authority over it.

178 *Madras to Masulipatam* 4 April idem pp. 463-64.

179 *Masulipatam to Madras* 28 October 1768 *Milit. Cons.* 8 November Vol. 63 pp. 1, 460-61.

during the weak and relaxed government of the present Soubah (Nizam Ali) and his predecessor Salabat Jung".¹⁸⁰

To reconcile the zamindars to the administration of the Company was at once a subject of policy and prudence. As such "by well-timed marks of reward we should gain their confidence and affection and as they would then be exposed to the indisputable control of our authority and would see, nevertheless, that we had no intention to make an improper use of that power, we are persuaded that they would soon reconcile themselves to a government that must appear to them to be founded on principles so moderate and just, nor would they wish to change for another (which), from experience they must know, would either make use of their defenceless situation to dispoil them of their possessions or at least would so far improve by it as to the extent of immense sums under pretence of confirming them therein". The Madras government entirely approved this line of policy and, while ordering the demolition of Mailavaram, directed Masulipatam "to destroy the others as opportunities offer."¹⁸¹

The affairs of Peddapuram also occasioned a considerable amount of anxiety to the Madras government. Aswa Rao, Raja of Palawancha, in the Khammamet Sarkar of the Nizam's dominions, had been dispossessed of his zamindari by Ibrahim Beg Khan who, as the Nizam's deputy, had recently taken charge of the Khammamet and Warangal Sarkars in accordance with the treaty of Madras. Aswa Rao having taken shelter in the Peddapuram Zamindari, Ibrahim Beg strongly protested to the Masulipatam Council on behalf of his master.¹⁸² The Madras government originally directed an inquiry into the rights of the zamindars to grant asylum, but on the strong recommendation of the Masulipatam Council it was abandoned as such an inquiry would weaken the authority of the Company in the country. Nevertheless, Aswa Rao was obliged to quit the country.¹⁸³

The Peddapuram
incident : rights
of asylum.

¹⁸⁰ *Masulipatam to Madras* 9 November *Milit. Cons.* 21 November Vol. 63 pp. 1,552-57.

¹⁸¹ Resolution of the Madras government. *idem*, p. 1. 558. This resolution was immediately carried into effect. See, *Masulipatam to Madras*, 23 November. *Milit. Cons.* 29 November Vol. 63, pp. 1, 674-76.

See also *Madras Letters Received*, 8 March 1769 (further letter). (Bourchier) para 28, Vol. IV.

¹⁸² *Masulipatam to Madras* undated No. 227 *Milit. Cons.* 17 April 1769 Vol. 65 pp. 267-68.

It is not clear whether this Ibrahim Beg was the same as the one who delivered the fort of Kondapalli to the Company in exchange for a jagir.

¹⁸³ *Masulipatam to Madras* No. 121 *Milit. Cons.* 30 July 1770 Vol. 67 pp. 176-77.

The revenue transactions between the Company and Hussain Ali, and Jogi Pantulu as has been shown before, were extremely obscure. But towards the end of the period of his rentership, we get a few glimpses which are worth reviewing. Thus, in November 1768, a sum of Madras Pagodas 62,111 was shown to be outstanding from the renters. It arose out of the balances which were due to Hussain Ali from the several zamindars at the time when he relinquished the deputyship of Nizam Ali and was entertained as the Company's renter. Even though "the Company did not, in fact, get possession of the circars until after the conclusion of the first treaty with the Soubah and though (the) three southernmost were not rented out until the latter end of 1766", the fact that the *kaul* had been drawn up so as to become operative from 25 September of that year and that Hussain Ali had assigned these balances to the Company led the Madras government to insist on its payment.¹⁸⁴

Again, by the same month, Hussain Ali and Jogi Pantulu as renters of the Rajahmundry Sarkar had completely discharged their obligations for the *fasli* year 1176 (1766-67) which amounted to M.Ps. 1,19,500. But for the year 1767-68 a balance of M. Ps. 49,500 consisting of the third *kist* in part and the fourth in full was due from them. As regards the Ellore and Mustafanagar Sarkars, Hussain Ali paid in full his rent of M. Ps. 1,30,500 for 1766-67. But for the year 1767-68 he stood indebted to the Company to the extent of M. Ps. 50,500 in the same manner as was in the Company's debt in conjunction with Jogi Pantulu. Both these balances arose out the backwardness of the zamindars among whom were included the Rajas of Nuzividu, the Char Mahal, Yuyyur, Peddapuram, Pithapuram, the Domahal (Kōṭa Rāmachandrapuram), Korukonda, Polavaram and Gutala, in all mounting to M.Ps. 63,112. By the agreements signed by these zamindars, half of the balances ought to have been paid by 28 February 1767 and the residuum by 31 May 1768. Their default was the direct result of the renters' backwardness.¹⁸⁵

In June 1769 the Madras government surveyed the revenue position of the three middle Sarkars in view of the fact that the term of rentership of Hussain Ali and Jogi Pantulu would be expiring in

¹⁸⁴ *Masulipatam to Madras*, 4 October 1768. *Milit. Cons.* 2 November, Vol. 63, pp. 1, 391-93.

¹⁸⁵ *Masulipatam to Madras*, 4 October 1768. *Milit. Cons.* 2 November. See statement of balances due to the Company. Vol. 63, pp 1893-97. See also, *Madras Letters Received*, (further letter) Bouchier, 8 March 1769, para 27, Vol.IV

**Termination of
the rentership of
Hussain Ali and
Jogi Pantulu:
September 1769.**

September.¹⁸⁶ Since the zamindars in general "not" withstanding their assurances of fidelity and attachment, were ready to catch at every opportunity of distressing the government", they resolved to do way with the agency of renters and get into direct touch with them. "Even tho' the expenses of collecting (the revenues) should render it less advantageous, we think even that will be over-balanced by our acquiring a more competent knowledge of their mean value."¹⁸⁷ The matter was then referred to the Masulipatam Council for their opinion. On their concurrence with the views of the government, and notwithstanding the possibility "that the plan may not answer our expectations", Madras resolved to "confine ourselves to a trial only." The Sarkars were then advertised to be leased piecemeal.¹⁸⁸

Hussain Ali was extremely reluctant to relinquish the management of the Sarkars which he had enjoyed either as the *naib* of Nizam Ali or as the Company's renter, for nearly a decade. He proposed to visit Madras with a view to secure his continuation as renter of the revenues of the Sarkars.¹⁸⁹ The government of Du Pre, who had recently succeeded Bouchier, emphatically declined to countenance his proposal. On Hussain Ali's reiterating the advantages which the Company would derive from the continuation of his rentership, the Madras government stated the disadvantages of a system of revenue management from which direct contact with the zamindars was eliminated.¹⁹⁰

The government argued that since the *jamabandi* for 1769—1770 had already been settled and in force for seven months, no question of Hussain Ali's management could be countenanced. Hussain Ali had falsely assured the zamindars that he was to be reappointed renter and to counteract this and bring them to proper obedience it was essential to settle with them individually. Otherwise, the agreement entered into with the Company by the zamindars would not be fulfilled, and would cause great loss to the current revenue. Hussain Ali's presence at Madras could only be productive of disputes with the Nawab of Arcot regarding their money transactions.¹⁹¹ On all these grounds, Hussain Ali's importunities for reinstatement were definitely rejected.

Even after the expiry of his rentership, Hussain Ali continued to have considerable dealings with the zemindars. Thus, as late as

¹⁸⁶ *Pub. Cons.* 9 June 1769. Vol. 28, pp. 367—69.

¹⁸⁷ *Pub. Cons.* 9 June 1769. Vol. 28, pp. 367—69.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.* See also, *Madras Letters Received*, 27 June 1769. (Bouchier), paras 48—51 and 65. Vol. IV.

¹⁸⁹ *Hussain Ali to Madras*, No. 82 *Milit. Cons.* 10 April 1770. Vol. 67 pp. 95—96.

¹⁹⁰ *Same to same*, No. 92, *idem.* 23 April. *idem.*

¹⁹¹ *Hussain Ali to Madras*. No. 92 *Milit. Cons.* 23 April, Vol. 67, pp. 96—100,

August 1770, we find him complaining that the Madras government had not discharged their obligations by neglecting to take over, as promised the balances exhibited as due to him from the zamindars, and that he had been obliged to satisfy the Company with the proceeds of his *jagir*.¹⁹² Governor Du Pre wrote to him in reply that Alexander Wynch, the new Chief of Masulipatam would give him "all the assistance he can to recover (the balance in question), but certainly it would not be just that the Company should suffer in the revenue of this year to make good the arrear(s) of the last year".¹⁹³ Thus ended Hussain Ali's management of the Sarkars.

It is not possible to be precise in an estimate of Hussain Ali's revenue administration of the Sarkars. Starting as the deputy of Nizam Ali he had attempted to wield uncontrolled power over the Sarkars and naturally evoked the opposition of the zamindars. But he was fortunate all through this period to command the good will and the military support of the Company and thus could even defy the *subadar* of Dekhan. He had survived one of the most crucial tests which any Indian administration of this period had been subjected to. At a time when the whole of Southern India was in the crucible of internecine warfare, when the Company had been reduced to the lowest state of their fortunes, when the Madras government were unable and unwilling to assert their right to the Sarkars on the grant of Shah Alam—Hussain Ali saw the form in which the fortunes of the Company were shaping, and willingly threw in his lot with that of the Madras government. Thus, he delivered up the management of the Sarkars even before the treaty of 1766. For this he became the object of the severest resentment of Nizam Ali. But he never departed from his policy of friendship towards the Madras government. It would be no exaggeration to say that despite his weaknesses he had actually established the Company's authority in the northern Sarkars.

On the other hand, his revenue administration had been extremely severe. Perhaps the troublous conditions of the times partly justified his heavy rental. Even then, his revenue methods were pernicious. His despotism led him to trample upon the rights of the zamindars in the Sarkars but in this he was only perpetuating the traditional policy of the Mughal Empire in its palmiest days. As such he became an object for cautious observation and final condemnation by the Madras government and when once that government had realised that the time had come for a drastic change in the revenue administration of the Sarkars, they dismissed him. With the close of his administration, Southern India was at once rid and deprived of the instrumentality of a single individual for the entire management of the huge strip of territory.

¹⁹² Same to same received 26 July 1770 *Pub. Cons.* 17 August Vol. 30 pp 765-66.

¹⁹³ *Du Pre to Hussain Ali* 1 August Vol. 30 pp. 666-67. I am not able to trace this transaction any further.

GENEOLOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE PALLAVAS.

(From Kalabhartri to Paramesvaravarma II)

GOVINDA PAI.

(Continued from page 16 of Volume VII, Part I)

(9) The undated Haiderabad grant⁴¹ of the same Chalukya Vikramaditya I claims that he trampled upon (or rubbed out) the fame of Narasimha, destroyed the power of Mahendra and conquered Išvara with a mere glance, and thus crushed the Pallavas, and that conquering king Išvarapota, he took Kanchi. The Pallava kings mentioned here would no doubt be the immediate successors of Paramēśvaravarma I who had vanquished Vikramaditya I, and on whom naturally therefore Vikramaditya would be avenged. These Pallava kings were thus the contemporaries of this Chalukya king.

(10) From the Vakkaleri plates⁴² issued in S.S. 679 (i.e. 757 A.C.) the 11th regnal year of the Chalukya king Kirtivarma II, we are informed that the Pallava king Nandipotavarma was twice defeated during the reign of Kirtivarma's father Vikramaditya II—once by Vikramaditya II himself, who after achieving that conquest entered Kanchi and acquired great merit by presenting heaps of gold to the Rajasimhesvara and other temples there, which is confirmed by the inscription at the said shrine⁴³ in the Kailasanatha temple at Conjeevaram, which mentions this Chalukya king with all his paramount titles; and next by the crown-prince Kirtivarma who was deputed for the purpose by his father the king Vikramaditya II. The latter conquest is also mentioned in the Aivuli plates⁴⁴ issued in S.S. 741 (i.e. 749 A.C.) the 4th regnal year of Kirtivarma II. This Nandipotavarma is obviously the same as Nandivarma or Nandipotaraja, whose Kasakudi plates are

41 I.A. (VI p. 77). The phrase in the original text is 'नयनविजित' i.e. conquered with a glance, which is so graphic and so expressive that Dr. Fleet's alteration 'नयविजित' (=surpassed in the art of government) may be readily rejected as quite uncalled for.

42 E.C. (X K1 68)

43 F.K.D. p. 876.

44 M.A.R. 1909 p. 12a.

dated in his 22nd regnal year, and who, as stated therein, was the cousin and successor of Paramēśvaravarma II. Now, according to the Lakshmeśvara stone inscription, dated S. S. 656, on the full-moon day of *Māgha*, in the 2nd regnal year of Vikramaditya II, which date is equivalent to the 13th January 733 A. C. (on which day there was a lunar eclipse though not mentioned in the grant), Vikramaditya II must have come to the throne in 733 A.C.; and likewise according to the Vakkalūri plates Kirtivarma II came to the throne in 746—47 A.C. Nandipotavarma was thus the contemporary of Vikramaditya II (733—746 A.C.).

From the Penukonda plates, we know that Simhavarma who installed the Ganga king Ayyavarma (or Harivarma) must have begun to rule before 309 A. C., and from the Allahabad pillar inscription we know that Vishnugopa who was defeated by Samudragupta must have been ruling in 320—322 A.C., and from the Penukonda plates again we know that Skandavarma who installed the Ganga king Madhava II must have commenced to rule before 349 A. C. It will then be readily seen that these three kings Simhavarma, Vishnugopa and Skandavarma must be three successive kings, and a glance at the Pallava Genealogy given above will suffice to convince that these three kings must respectively be Simhavarma I, his brother and successor Vishnugopa I, and his nephew and successor Skandavarma IV, who was the son of Simhavarma I. The dates of these three kings then would be — (1) Simhavarma I — 309 A.C. (2) Vishnugopa I — 320—322 A.C., and (3) Skandavarma IV — 349 A.C.

Simhavarma II was the son of Vishnugopa I as stated in his own Ongodu (No. 2) plates, which are dated in his 4th regnal year and which mention a solar eclipse that took place on the new moon day of *Chaitra* and it may be correctly presumed that he must have succeeded his cousin brother Skandavarma IV, as the latter, we have seen, succeeded his uncle (and Simhavarma II's father) Vishnugopa I. Simhavarma of the '*Loka-vibhaga*' whose reign, as mentioned in that work, commenced in 437 A.C., could never be the son of Vishnugopa I (who, as we have seen, was on the throne in 320—22 A.C.) or that the difference between them is more than a hundred years, and also for the further reason that there was no solar eclipse on the *Chaitra* new moon day in his 4th regnal year i.e. 439—40 A.C. or 440—41 A.C. (as expressly stated in the Ongodu No. 2 plates of Vishnugopa I's son Simhavarma II), nor in any year between 414 A.C. and 460 A.C. It is therefore quite certain that Simhavarma of the '*Loka-vibhaga*' is Simhavarma III. Thus it is established beyond doubt that there were *three* kings of the name of Simhavarma the *first* of whom Simhavarma I was the installer of the Ganga king

Harivarma and was already ruling in 309 A.C., the *second* of which name Simhavarma II, was the son of Vishnugopa I and the donor of the Omgodu (No. 2) plates, and the *third* king called as such, Simhavarma III began to rule in 437 A.C. We also know that according to the inviolate practice still prevalent among the Hindus, no son would be called by the same name as that of his father (wherefore Simhavarma III could not be the son of his name-sake Simhavarma II), whereas the grandson is invariably named after his grandfather, wherefore there is no doubt that there was the king Vijayavishnugopa *alias* Vishnugopa II (the donor of the Guntur as well as the Chura plates) between Simhavarma II and Simhavarma III, and that king was rightly called as such after his grand father Vishnugopa I, just as his son Simhavarma III was named as such after his grand-father Simhavarma II. The deletion therefore of the names of Vijayavishnugopa (i.e. Vishnugopa II) and his son Simhavarma III from the Pallava Geneology, as has been done by Rev. Heras⁴⁶ is quite unjustified.

From the statement of the Velurpalaiyam plates⁴⁷ that several kings including Vishnugopa passed away before Nandivarman was born, we have already seen that Vishnugopa II (though belonging to the junior branch) must have preceded his cousin brother Nandivarman on the Pallava throne, and the latter therefore must have ruled between Vishnugopa II and his son Simhavarma III. Consequently, Nandivarman would be the immediate predecessor of his nephew Simhavarma III. We know Simhavarma III began to rule in 437 A. C., wherefore Nandivarman may be assigned to circa 414—437 A. C. and his cousin brother and immediate predecessor Vishnugopa II to circa 389—414 A.C. The immediate predecessor of Vishnugopa II was his own father Simhavarma II, who was the donor of the Omgodu (No. 2) plates. These plates, we have seen, mention a solar eclipse that occurred on the *Chaitra* newmoon day in his 4th regnal year. Now there were only 2 solar eclipses on the specified day within 25 years before 389 A.C., viz. those on (1) 4th April 368 A.C. and (2) 15th April 386 A.C. The latter date may be rejected, as in that case his reign would be a very brief one of 7 or 8 years. We shall therefore accept the former date i.e. the 4th April 368 A.C. as that of the eclipse mentioned in his Omgodu (No. 2) plates (the actual date of which then would be 9th April 368 A.C.), in which case his reign would commence in 364 A.C., and his regnal period would be 364—389 A. C.

The immediate predecessor of this Simhavarma II was, as we have already seen, not his father Vishnugopa I, but his cousin brother Skandavarman IV, who was already on the Pallava throne in 349 A.C.

46 H.P.G. Chart No. 2.

47 M.E.R. 1911 p. 58.

He may therefore be assigned to 340—364 A.C. We have also seen that the immediate predecessor of Skandavarma IV was not his father Simhavarma I, but his uncle Vishnugopa I, who ruled between the father and son, and was on the Pallava throne in 20—22 A.C. when Samudragupta invaded Kanchi and we also know that Simhavarma I must have already begun to rule before 309 A. C. Now the Uruvapalli grant⁴⁸ of this Vishnugopa, issued in the 11th regnal year of his brother Simhavarma I, while he himself was the crown-prince (Yuva-maharaja) is dated on the 10th lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month of *Pushya*. The presumption is but natural that the said lunar day must be specially auspicious in order to be selected as fit occasion for making grants. Eclipses of the sun and the moon are considered the most auspicious occasions for making gifts, next to which comes the day of the winter solstice, (*Uttarayana Samkranti*), when the sun takes to the northward course. No eclipse whether the solar or the lunar, could occur on the 10th day of the dark half of any lunar month, whereas the winter solstice invariably occurs in *Paushya* and there was such an occurrence on the specified day on the 17th December 306 A.C. which would be in all likelihood the date of the Uruvapalli grant. In that case, Simhavarma I came to the throne in 296 A.C., and as we have seen that his brother and successor Vishnugopa I was ruling in 320—22 A.C., we may assign the regnal period of Simhavarma I to 296—315 A.C., and then as at would follow, the regnal period of Vishnugopa I would be 315—340 A.C.

The Omgodu (No. 1) plates,⁴⁹ which record a grant of Simhavarma I's father Vijayaskandavarma *alias* Skandavarma III, are dated in his 33rd regnal year on the 13th lunar day in the 3rd fortnight of winter. These details of date evidently furnish an indication of antiquity, and refer to the three-fold division of the year⁵⁰ each including 8 fortnights. The three primitive seasons were—(1) *Vasanta* (spring) or *Grishma* (summer)⁵¹ from the *Phalguna* full moon day to *Ashadha* full-moon; (2) *Varsha* (rain) from the *Ashadha* full moon day to *Kartika* full-moon; and (3) *Sarat*⁵² (autumn) or *Hemanta* (winter) from the *Kartika* fullmoon day to *Phalguna* fullmoon, and these three fullmoon days were sometimes considered as the last days and sometimes as the initial days for their respective seasons; at any rate, the months were always regarded as

48 I.A. V. p. 50.

49 M.E.R. 1916 p 118.

50 Other instances of the use of this three-fold primitive division of the year are furnished by the Hirahadagalli grant of Pallava Sivaskandavarma (which we shall soon come to), the Dudia grant of the Vakataka king Pravarasena (II, III p. 258), and the grants of the early Kadamba kings Mrigesavarma (I.A. VII p. 37) and Ravivarma (I.A. VI p. 30)

51 E.C. VII Sk, 263,

52 Ibid Sk, 264

Purnimanta (i.e. ending with the full-moonday). The 3rd fortnight of the winter (division) then would be the dark fortnight of *Margasira*; and on the 18th November 290 A.C., the 13th lunar day of the dark fortnight of *Margasira* coincided with *Dhanus Samkranti* i.e. the day of the Sun's entrance into the 9th Zodiacal sign of Sagittarius, which day from time immemorial seems to have been held sacred in all South India and more than elsewhere in the Tamil country. In that case Vijayaskandavarma *alias* Skandavarma III came to the throne in 258 A.C. and ruled till 296 A.C. when he was succeeded by his eldest son Simhavarma I.

We have hardly any information as regards the dates of his predecessors Viravarma (*alias* Kumaravishnu II) and Buddhavarma (*alias* Skandavarma II) wherefore we may give them an average reign of a little more than 25 years each, when the regnal period of Viravarma would be circa 228—258 A.C., and that of his father Buddhavarma circa 200—228 A.C., or in round numbers, the death of Kumaravishnu I and the accession of his son Buddhavarma may be placed in 200 A.C.

Next we come to Buddhavarma's father Sivaskandavarma *alias* Kumaravishnu I. He was the only Pallava king that had performed several⁵³ different sacrifices including the *Asvamedha*, and all of those sacrifices he had performed before he had been but 8 years on the throne as is evident from his Hirahadagalli plates⁵³ issued in his 8th regnal year. He may thus be looked upon as the first Pallava king that acquired an empire, or in other words the first Pallava Emperor, as will be evident if we just contrast his title '*Dharmamahārājādhirāja*' with that of his father which was merely a '*Mahārāja*' as mentioned in the same plate. Readers may be reminded of a similar instance in the Gupta history, where Chandragupta I, the founder of the Gupta empire as well as of the Gupta era, has been called '*Mahārājādhirāja*', whereas his father, Ghatotkacha and grandfather Gupta were merely *Mahārajas*.⁵⁴ Thus in one word, it may be said that this Kumaravishnu (*alias* Sivaskandavarma) was to the Pallava dynasty what almost exactly a century later Chandragupta I was to the Gupta dynasty, the founder of the Imperial Line. Now, Kumaravishnu's Hirahadagalli plates issued in his 8th regnal year are dated the 5th day of the 6th fortnight of the rainy season. Here, however, we have a very clear and unambiguous instance of the division of the year into 3 seasons of 8 fortnights each, and we know that each of these divisions was called a '*Chaturmāsā*' (i.e. a period of 4 months), though at present that term is applied exclusively to the rainy season. We have already said that the intermediate season of the rains lasted from the full-moon day of *Ashadha* to that of *Kartika*, wherefore its 6th

⁵³ E.I. I. pp. 2-10.

⁵⁴ F.G.I. Nos. 1, 4, 10, 12, 13.

fortnight would be the bright half of *Asvayuja*, and the day specified in the grant thus would be the fifth lunar day of the bright fortnight of *Asvayuja*. Here also we would seek out some auspicious occasion that coincided with this day, and we would thus assign this grant to Saturday the 18th September 174 A. C. which in addition to being the specified lunar day was also the very auspicious solar day of the autumnal equinox (i.e. *Tula Samkranti* or the *Vishuva* day). In that case Kumaravishnu (*alias* Sivaskandavarma) ascended the throne in 167 A.C. and ruled until 200 A.C.

Though the historicity of the four predecessors of Kumaravishnu cannot be denied, we have scarcely any chronological information relating to them, wherefore we shall just allow them an average reign of some 20 years each, when their respective regnal periods would be:--

Skandasishya	Circa 147—167 A.C.
Virakurcha	„ 127—147 A.C.
Chuta-Pallava	„ 107—127 A.C.
Kalabhartri	„ 87—107 A.C.

Most probably Kalabhartri himself was the real and historical progenitor of the Pallava dynasty, the beginning of which in that case may be placed at about the end of the first century A.C., and I think that Drona, Asvatthama &c. who have been mentioned in some very much later inscriptions, such as the Kuram plates, Rajasimhesvara shrine inscription, Panamalai inscription, Vayalur pillar inscription, Udayendiram (No. 2) plates &c. are in all likelihood much later additions made to their historical genealogy in order to carry it back into the epic times and derive the Pallava descent from those well-known epic heroes, as is quite evident from the fact that Asvatthama, the alleged father of the eponymous Pallava, is regarded as a part-incarnation of God Siva in the Panamalai inscription⁵⁵ exactly as Asvatthama, the son of Dronacharya has been described in the epic *Mahā Bhārata*.

Let us now come back to Simhavarma III and his successors. We have seen that Simhavarma III came to the throne in 437 A.C. He must have ruled for more than 22 years, as the *Loka-vibhaga* is dated in his 22nd regnal year. From the Velurpalaiyam plates⁵⁶ we know that from this Simhavarma III (who came after Nandivarma) was born the victorious Simhavishnu; and this Simhavishnu, we also know from the *Avantisundari Katha*, was a contemporary of the Ganga king Durvinita,

55 E.I XIX p. 113. प्रथितभुजबलो द्रोणिरंशः पुरारेः। अश्वत्थामो तस्मात्प्रीतः
शुक्लपोनिर्मलादविरासी दान्तायादंग विद्याविस्तर इव महीबल्लभः पल्लवाख्यः॥'

56 M.E.R. 1911 p. 58.

who, as we have proved in our article on the Ganga Chronology, came to the throne in 478 A.C. and was still ruling in 518 A.C. Now the Kuram plates⁵⁷ of Paramesvaravarma I claim that his grandfather Narasimhavarma I defeated the Chalukya king, Pulikesi in several battles, wrote the word 'victory' on his back and destroyed his capital Vatapi. This Pulikesi has been identified with the 2nd king of that name i.e. Pulikesi II and all the scholars have accepted it as a settled fact. But this identification is quite incorrect; for believing with Dr. Fleet who says that the reign of Pulikesi II ended in disaster⁵⁸ due to his defeat and the sack of his capital Vatapi by Narasimhavarma I, and assigning that event to 642 A.C. as he has done,⁵⁹ we shall see that there would be a long stretch of 200 years between the commencement of the reign of Simhavarma III in 437 A. C. and the 10th or 15th regnal year of his great grand-son Narasimhavarma I (to which this defeat of Pulikesi II may be approximately assigned) when in 642 A. C. he defeated Pulikesi II, and these two centuries would have to be made up by merely 3 successive reigns of Simhavarma III (asc. 637 A. C.), Simhavishnu, and Mahendravarma I (*ob.* 642—10 or 15 = 632 or 627), or in other words, each of these 3 kings would have an average reign of more than 60 years, which, to say the least of it, seems to be absurd. The alleged contemporaneity of Pulikesi II and Narasimhavarma I therefore readily breaks down, and therewith likewise the story of the disastrous end of the reign of Pulikesi II (*vide* App. B), which is mainly or solely built upon that defeat, so long believed to have been inflicted upon *him* by Narasimhavarma I. The Pulikesi whom Narasimhavarma I claims to have defeated must therefore be Pulikesi I, and *never* his grandson Pulikesi II. As stated in the Aihole inscription (verses 7 and 8), Pulikesi I performed the *Asvamedha*, in connection with which he must have carried on various campaigns to achieve the necessary '*Digvijaya*' (i.e. the conquest of the Quarters), and it is quite possible that one of those expeditions was led against the Pallava king, in which that Chalukya king Pulikesi I was defeated in several battles⁶⁰ by perhaps the most formidable among his foes the Pallava king Narasimhavarma I, who further pursued his foe as far as his capital which he took and destroyed. This seems to be confirmed by the Badami inscription, according to which Vatapi or Badami was conquered by Mahamalla,⁶¹ which was no doubt an *alter nomen* of Nara-

57 S.I.I. Vol. I, p. 144.

58 F.K.D. p. 358.

59 *ibid* p. 359.

60 Ultimately, however, Pulikesi I must have scored the victory over his Pallava enemy, as otherwise he (Pulikesi I) could not have consummated his *Asvamedha*,

61 F.K.D. p. 328.

simhavarma I. Now Pulikesi I came to the throne in about 540 A.C. and died in about 566 or 567 A. C., when he was succeeded by his son Kirtivarma I.

In the Kuram plates again the donor king Paramesvaravarma I claims to have made the Chalukya king Vikramaditya I (i.e. the son and successor of Pulikesi II) take to flight covered only by a rag. This is confirmed by the Rajasimhesvara shrine inscription⁶² of Paramesvaravarma I's son Rajasimha *alias* Narasimhavarma II which says that his father was the destroyer of the city of Ravarasika, and Ravarasika we know was a conspicuous *Biruda* of Chalukya Vikramaditya I.⁶³ Thus defeated, Vikramaditya I, would naturally seek to take his revenge on his adversary Paramesvaravarma I himself, failing which (as perhaps the Pallava king had been dead before the Chalukya could muster strength enough for an equally crushing counteraction), he would take the necessary steps to wreak his vengeance upon the immediate successor or successors of Paramesvaravarma I as often as he could until the memory and the weight of his disgrace was entirely wiped out. Thus we learn from the Haiderabad Grant⁶⁴ of Vikramaditya I that he trampled upon (or rubbed out) the fame of Narasimha, destroyed the power of Mahendra, and conquered Isvara with a glance, and thus crushed the Pallavas and conquering king Isvarapota, he took Kanchi. These Pallava kings Narasimha, Mahendra and Isvara or Isvarapota would therefore no doubt be the immediate successors of Paramesvara I, in which case Narasimha would be his son and successor Narasimhavarma II, and Isvara or Isvarapota would be Paramesvaravarma II, who was the son and successor of Narasimhavarma II, in that Isvara and Paramesvara, being alike the names of God Siva are synonymous, and Paramesvaravarma II was also known as Paramesvarapotavarma, as is evident from the Kasakudi plates of his immediate successor Nandivarma II; and consequently the intermediate name Mahendra (which stands in the Haiderabad Grant between those of Narasimha and Isvara) could not be the name of any third king, as there was none in the Pallava Geneo'ogy, so far known, between Narasimhavarma II and Paramesvaravarma II, but must be the *alter nomen* of Paramesvara II himself, who as is known from his Kailasanatha temple inscription⁶⁵ was also known as Mahendra, which the composer of the Haiderabad grant must have evidently mistaken for a new name of an intermediate king. But it may be objected that the apparently three kings, Narasimha, Mahendra and Isvara defeated by Vikramaditya I

62 S.II, Vol. I. pp. 12-14.

63 F.K.D. p. 329.

64 I.A. VI p. 77.

65 S.I.I, Vol. I, pp. 22-23.

might be Narasimhavarma I, Mahendra II and Paramesvaravarma I, who seem to correctly answer to the three plausibly successive names of the Haiderabad grant, and thence it might also be argued that the Pulikesi conquered by Narasimhavarma I was Pulikesi II, on whose death his son Vikramaditya I made a retaliative war against the very Narasimha (who was the vanquisher of his father) and defeated him and not content therewith the same Vikramaditya I made further wars against Narasimha's son Mahendra II as well as (Mahendra's son) Isvara (i.e. Paramesvaravarma I) and took his capital Kanchi, all of which victories against these three Pallava kings he scored between 652 A.C. and 674 A.C., as his Gadval Grant⁶⁶ which is dated in 674 A.C. recounts the same, and in fine that Vikramaditya I was entirely defeated by Paramesvaravarma I as is claimed by this Pallava king in his Kuram plates. Now from the 'Togarchedu plates⁶⁷ of Vikramaditya I's son Vinayaditya dated in S. S. 611 (i.e. 689 A.C) which is his 10th regnal year, we know that his father Vikramaditya I seized the city of Kanchi after he defeated the Pallava king (who has not been named), and further also that Vinayaditya, (who was then the crown-prince) was commanded by his father to conquer the Pallava king, ⁶⁸ and he achieved that end. The most important point to note here is that it was after Vikramaditya I had already once defeated the Pallava king and taken his capital, (which from the Haiderabad grant, we have seen, was taken from Isvarapota) that he again deputed his son Vinayaditya, perhaps this time to make an end of that Pallava, wherefore in the interval between Vikramaditya I's capture of Kanchi and the invasion of Vinayaditya, Vikramaditya I could have known no defeat at the hands of the Pallava. Consequently the defeat that was inflicted upon him by Paramesvaravarma I must be placed, as is reasonable, in the early part of Vikramaditya I's reign; or in other words the offensive must have been first taken by Paramesvaravarma I, and it was that defeat that must have so whetted Vikramaditya I as to drive him to make repeated onslaughts on the Pallavas, king after king, and not content even therewith to send his son Vinayaditya on the same errand, when perhaps he was too old to take the field himself. Thus then the Pallavas whom Vikramaditya I defeated must be the immediate successors (and not predecessors) of Paramesvaravarma I.

It may again be objected that in the Gadval plates, dated 674 A.C., of Vikramaditya I, Paramesvaravarma is said to be the son of Mahendravarma, and this exactly fits in with the relation existent between

⁶⁶ E. I. X pp. 100-106.

⁶⁷ I.A. VI pp. 86-87.

⁶⁸ We have an exactly similar instance in the Vakkaleri plates of Chalukya varma II as we have already seen.

Mahendravarma II and Paramesvaravarma I who were father and son; whereas Paramesvaravarma II was himself Mahendravarma III, and not the son of a Mahendravarma. But it must be remembered that the Gadval plates are not a Pallava record, but an inscription of their enemy the Chalukyas, and as such the composer thereof could not be expected to know the precise consanguinity of those different Pallavas, nor the correct identification of their different names, and a remarkable instance of this ignorance is provided by the Haiderabad grant of Vikramaditya I where the apparently three Pallava kings are mentioned as if detached from and not correlated to each other, as not a word is said about their mutual relationship, and also by the Togarchedu plates of his son Vinayaditya, where not even the name has been mentioned of the Pallava king whom his father as well as he himself defeated. Or we may give an example from the Pallava epigraphs themselves, that of the Mangalur Pikira and Omgodu (No. 2) plates, all of which record the different grants of Simhavarma II, and in all of which the donor's father himself has been called *Yuva mahārāja* Vishnugopa, as if he were a life-long crown-prince and never ruled as king, whereas from later Pallava records we know that he did rule as king. Yet another example may be given from the Pallava records. In his Panamalai inscription Rajasimha *alias* Narasimhavarma II says that he is the son of Paramesvaravarma—
'यो देवादेकमल्लद्रह इव परमादीश्वरादात्त जन्मा' (E. I. XIX p. 113)
where besides the obvious pun upon the name Paramesvaravarma we also know that '*Elkamalla*' was a *biruda* of Paramesvaravarma I (S.I.I. Vol. I. No. 24). This filiation is borne out by Kasakudi plates, by the Kailasanatha temple inscription (where *Lokāditya* is an *alter nomen* of Paramesvaravarma I), by the Rajasimhesvara shrine inscription (where *Ugradanda* is a *biruda* of Paramesvaravarma I), and the Vayalur pillar inscription; whereas in Velurpalaiyam plates, Narasimhavarma II is said to be the son's son (पुत्रसूनु) of Paramesvaravarma I.

Next from the Ainuli plates⁶⁹ of the 4th regnal year and the Vakkaleri plates⁷⁰ of the 11th regnal year of the Chalukya king Kirtivarma II we are informed that the Pallava king Nandipotavarma was twice defeated during the reign of Chalukya Vikramaditya (733—746 A.C.) the father of Kirtivarma II, once by Vikramaditya II himself, and then by Kirtivarma (while he was a crown-prince) at his father's command; both of which defeats were thus inflicted on that Pallava king before Kirtivarma II ascended the Chalukya throne in 746 A. C. The accession of Nandipotavarma to the Pallava throne may therefore be assigned to circa 720 A.C. We know from his own Kasakudi plates⁷¹ that Nandivarma

69 M.A.R. 1909 p. 12-a.

70 E.C. x. Kl. 63.

71 S.I.I. Vol. II. pp. 342-61.

was also called Nandipotaraja, and also that he was the cousin and immediate successor of Paramesvaravarma II, wherefore circa 720 A. C. would also be the last year of the reign of Paramesvaravarma II.

Now if Pulikesi II be the Pulikesi who was defeated by Narasimhavarma I, and if also the three Pallava kings mentioned in the Gadval grant of 674 A.C. as well as the Haiderabad grant as having been overcome by Vikramaditya I (654—682 A.C.) be the three successive kings Narasimhavarma I, Mahendravarma II and Paramesvaravarma I, then assigning the regnal period of Narasimhavarma I to circa 630—660 A. C. (as it should synchronize with the end of Pulikesi II's reign and the beginning of that of Vikramaditya I), we shall have 660—720 A.C. i.e. 60 years at most for the reigns of four successive Pallava kings, viz Mahendravarma II, Paramesvaravarma I, Narasimhavarma II and Paramesvaravarma II i.e. about 15 years on an average for each reign, which seems to be quite implausible. We have therefore to revert to the conclusions we have already arrived at, viz. (1) the Pulikesi claimed to have been defeated by Narasimhavarma I could not be Pulikesi II, but it must be Pulikesi I; (2) it was Paramesvaravarma I who first took the offensive against the Chalukya king Vikramaditya I and defeated him; and (3) the Pallava kings whom Vikramaditya I claims to have defeated are not three as it seems to be, but only two, viz. Narasimhavarma II and his son Paramesvaravarma II, who was also called Mahendravarma II or in fact it was only *one crowned* king Narasimhavarma II who was defeated by Vikramaditya I, for possibly Paramesvaravarma was yet a crown-prince when, after the defeat of his father, he too was defeated by Vikramaditya I. We have already had instances in the Togarchedu, Ainuli and the Vakkaleri plates of crown princes having been commanded by their fathers and sent against their enemy. It is quite possible therefore that after having overcome Narasimhavarma II, when Vikramaditya I marched against Kanchi, it was defended by the crown-prince Paramesvaravarma (whether it was owing to the absence of his father, who had been defeated somewhere far off and had not yet returned to the capital when the Chalukya had already arrived at its gates, or it was at the command of his father, we cannot decide) and for that reason perhaps it has been recorded in that Chalukya's Haiderabad grant that he took Kachi from Isvarapotaraja i.e. Paramesvaravarma. The word '*Raja*' it may be said once for all, need not mean the reigning king himself as it applies also to princes of blood royal and even to feudatory princes as will be evident from the fact that Bhanuvarma, the younger brother of the Kadamba king Ravivarma calls himself Bhanuvarma *Raja*,⁷² and

72 'श्रीमद्भानुवर्मराजलब्ध पादप्रसादेन.....श्री

राविवर्म धर्ममहाराजस्य एकादशे संवत्सरे' (I. A. VI. p. 28)

a number of similar instances can be given. If again Paramesvaravarma II has been mentioned by 2 names, viz. Isvara or Isvarapota (which is the same as Paramesvara) and Mahendra, neither of them is a *biruda*, which perhaps as a crown-prince he may not be expected to have, but both the names are those of his ancestors (Isvara or Paramesvara is the name of his grandfather, and Mahendra that of his great grandfather) and it is quite in the fitness of things if he was given both of those names by his father.

Now, the defeats which both Narasimhavarma II and his son the crown-prince Paramesvaravarma suffered at the hands of Vikramaditya I must be placed before 674 A.C., as the same have been mentioned in the Gadval plates of that year. Narasimhavarma II therefore must have come to the throne already before 674 A.C.

These results may now be noted down as follows:—

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| 1. Simhavarma III | ascended the throne in 437 A. C. |
| 2. Simhavishnu | was a contemporary of the Ganga king Durvinita, who began to rule in 478 A.C. and was still ruling in 518 A.C. |
| 3. Mahendravarma I | |
| 4. Narasimhavarma I | defeated Pulikesi I (circa 545-567 A.C.) |
| 5. Mahendravarma II | |
| 6. Paramesvaravarma I | defeated Chalukya king Vikramaditya I (652-682 A.C.) |
| 7. Narasimhavarma II | was defeated by the same Vikramaditya I, and was already on the throne in 674 A.C. |
| 8. Paramesvaravarma II | was, while a crown-prince, defeated by the same Vikramaditya, before 674 A.C.; and also must have ceased to rule in circa 720 A.C. |

and in the light of these results, the regnal periods of these kings, with a sufficiently close approximation to the truth, would be:—

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------|
| 1. Simhavarma III | 437-472 A.C. |
| 2. Simhavishnu | 472-520 A.C. |
| 3. Mahendravarma I | 520-555 A.C. |
| 4. Narasimhavarma I | 555-595 A.C. |
| 5. Mahendravarma II | 595-630 A.C. |
| 6. Paramesvaravarma I | 630-660 A.C. |
| 7. Narasimhavarma II | 660-685 A.C. |
| 8. Paramesvaravarma II | 685-720 A.C. |

It is but natural that the two of the greatest and the most powerful of the South Indian ruling powers of that age, the Pallavas and the Chalukyas should have found themselves in constant conflict with each other. This feud seems to have begun with Simhavishnu, who attempted to thwart the accession (or succession) of the Chalukya king Jayasima ~~alias~~ Jayasimha Vallabha in circa 500 A. C., when he was repulsed by Jayasimha's maternal grandfather the Ganga king Durvinita. It was carried on by Simhavishnu's grandson Narasimhavarma I, who defeated that Jayasimha's grandson Pulikesi I in several battles, possibly during the latter's *digvijaya* campaign undertaken in connection with his *Asvamedha* which however he celebrated. If the king of Dramila, against whom, according to the Mahakuta pillar inscription, the Chalukya king Kirtivarma I, the son and successor of Pulikesi I, is said to have been victorious,⁷³ be a Pallava king (as is plausible enough), then there was another clash in which Kirtivarma I might be said to have paid off his father Pulikesi I's scores to Narasimhavarma I, who had defeated Pulikesi I. Then we have it from the Aihole inscription (634 A.C.) that the rise of the power of Pulikesi II was opposed by the contemporary Pallava king, whose name however has not been mentioned, when that great Chalukya defeated him and marching against his capital Kanchi, made him seek refuge behind its ramparts.⁷⁴ This Pallava king would be evidently Mahendravarma II whose reign we have assigned to 595—630 A.C. Then again Mahendravarma II's son Paramesvaravarma I paid off his father's debt to Pulikesi II's son Vikramaditya I, who in his turn cleared off his own debt by paying it back in the same coin to the next two Pallavas, Narasimhavarma II and his son Paramesvaravarma II. Subsequently we know Vinayaditya also marched against Kanchi and defeated Paramesvaravarma II once again. Then again two successive defeats were inflicted upon Paramesvaravarma II's successor Nandivarma II during the reign of the Chalukya king, Vikramaditya II, once by that king himself and next by his son the crown-prince Kirtivarma II. The inevitable result of this natural antagonism of nearly 250 years was that each party came to regard the other as their natural enemy and family foe, as is evident from the occurrence of such expressions in the Ainuli and the Vakkaleri plates.

To be Continued.

⁷³ F.K.D. p. 328.

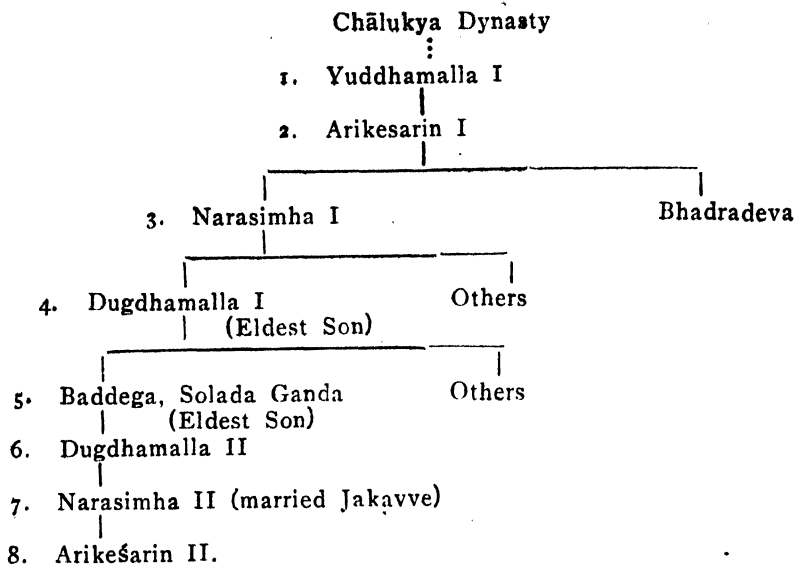
⁷⁴ आकामात्म बलोभितं बलरजः सङ्गम काञ्चीपुर
प्राकामान्तरित प्रतापमकरोयः पल्लवानां पतिम्॥१९॥
पल्लवानीक नीहार तुङ्दिनेतरादिधितिः ॥३७॥

THE GENEALOGY OF ARIKESARIN II.

D. L. NARASIMHACHARI, M.A.

Messrs B. V. Krishna Rao and Somasekhara Sarma have laid the Kannaḍa people under a deep debt of gratitude by their publications of the Grants of Arikesarin II and Arikesarin I, respectively. The Ve(le)muluṇvāḍa inscription of Arikesarin II (J.A.H.R.S. VI, 3 & 4) is of great importance to the students of Kannada literature. The genealogy of Arikesarin II that Pampa gives was considered to be not accurate by some scholars. Drs. Bhandarkar and Fleet were unable, for want of sufficient data, to fit on this branch of the Chalukyan family either with the Western or the Eastern Chalukyan genealogies. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao has proved, beyond doubt, that this branch is an independent offshoot of the great Chalukyan family and that the pedigree that Pampa gives is substantially accurate. But his reliance upon the soundness of the Kannaḍa language possessed by Dr. Fleet has led him into some errors in the interpretation of the genealogy as given by Pampa. He agrees with the interpretation offered by Dr. Fleet and brushes aside the suggestions given by Mr. Sarma with the curt remark "that Dr. Fleet, who is a greater scholar of the Kanarese than Mr. Sarma, correctly rendered the statements of Pampa Kavi". With due deference to the erudition and depth of Dr. Fleet, I am constrained, to say, on a careful examination of the pedigree as given in the Pampa Bhārata, that Dr. Fleet has blundered many times. This is partly due to the defective nature of the Ms. of Pampa Bhārata that he consulted and partly due to the hypercritical bent of his mind. Now that a carefully revised edition of the above work has been brought forth by the Kannaḍa Academy with the collaboration of well-known scholars, on the basis of a number of Mss we are in a position to review and correct the interpretation of Dr. Fleet. On the authority of this edition no doubt need be entertained. The references given in the course of this article are to this edition which is designated by P.B. (Pampa Bhārata).

The consolidated genealogy of Arikesarin II as given by Pampa may be correctly rendered thus:—



I shall now proceed to examine the statements of Dr. Fleet concerning some of the chiefs mentioned above. Regarding Arikesarin I, the second chief of this dynasty, Fleet observes 'His son Arikesarin I who with the minister of Bangarishaya penetrated into the kingdom of a certain Nirupama'. Here the correct interpretation ought to be 'with the ministers of Vengi *vishaya*, (*Vengi vishaya mantrigaḷini* P.B. I 20). The reading Bangarishaya does not appear in any of the Mss of Pampa Bhārata, collated by the Kannaḍa Academy. According to Pampa, Arikesarin I had two sons named Narasimha I and Bhadradeva. But Dr. Fleet combines these two names into one and states "His son Narasimha Bhadradeva". This is a misrepresentation of the state of facts as given by Pampa. I quote the stanza in question:

Arikesari-gātmajar-ari
naropa-sirōḍaḷana pariratogrāsi bhayam |
kara-kararā yirvarolār
doreyene Narasimha Bhadra-dēvar negaḷdar || P. B. I. 22

The consistent use of the plural forms *Ātmajar* (Sons), *Bhayan-kara-karar* (they that have fearful arms), and *Negaḷdar* (they became famous) in the above stanza precludes any Kannaḍa scholar to interpret in the way in which Dr. Fleet has done. Moreover the word *irvarol* (in the two) clearly signifies that Narasimha and Bhadradeva were separate and not identical. So, the suggestion of Mr. Sarma that Arikesarin I had two sons can stand the test of criticism and I can say that Dugdhamalla I is the son of Narasimha I. But, according to Pampa, he ought to be the eldest son (Agrasutam) of Narasimha I. Similar is the case with Baddega

entitled *Soladuganda*, who must be the eldest son (Periyamagam) of Dugdhamalla I. Both these imply that Narasimha I and Dugdhamalla I had each more sons than one. Proceeding further we come to Narasimha II, the seventh chief in the genealogy given above, who is the son of Dugdhamalla II the eldest son of Baddega. Fleet makes some interesting remarks about this Narasimha II. He observes, of course on the basis of the Ms. of Pampa Bhārata he consulted, that "his son Narasimhadeva whose preceptor was Muni subhadra, who gave a province to Eṛapa, subdued the seven chiefs of Mālava.....and defeated a king named Mahipāla" The stanzas alleged to give out this information are these, according to the revised edition:

*Mānkarisadaṛivu guru vachu
naṁkuṣamam pāḷi yedege poṇardari belamam |
kiṁkoḷe mā [ḷpede-gaṇame] ni
raṁkuṣa menisidudu munisu Bhadrāmkuṣa[nā]*

|| P.B.I. 32

*Taṛisandu lāḷarol ta
ḷṭṭuḷeṛam peḷe kēḷdu maṇḍaḷaminnum |
tīru-nirikku[?]vudenisida
taṛisalawina calada bulada kali Narasimham||*

P.B.I. 33

Of the above two stanzas the first does not give any support to Dr. Fleet's statement that the preceptor of Narasimha II was Muni Subhadra. But the stanza has got a variant in two of the Mss designated by the editors as ka and kha of which ka is the book edited and printed in 1898 by Lewis Rice. The stanza runs thus:—

*Mantarisadaṛivu guru vachuḷ
dāntuṭu samapāḷi yedege poṇardire chalamam||
tintole mārpode guna mo
rante nisargame subhadra muni pumgavanā||*

The stanza, as it is, is entirely out of place in the description of the genealogy of Arikesarin II. It is incredible that Pampa who does not mention even his own *guru* in this work as well as that of his own patron should have referred to the preceptor of the father of Arikesarin II. Moreover, the meaning of the stanza cannot be accurately construed. The oldest Ms. of Pampa Bhārata, the one now available in the Ms library at Arrah, does not give this stanza. There are many words in common between the revised reading and the one accepted by Dr. Fleet. On these grounds it can be said that the stanza on the basis of which Fleet made his statement is not accurate and so the view that the preceptor of Narasimha II was Muni Subhadra is not sound. 'Bhadrāmkuṣa' as well as 'Sakala Lokāśraya', (P.B.I. 34), and *Dala priya* (P.B.I. 38) are the

titles that Pampa bestowed upon the father of his own patron. Again the statement that Narasimha II gave a province to Eṛapa has no basis to stand upon. Though the stanza is full of scribal errors and cannot be accurately interpreted it does not seem to give the idea that Eṛapa received a land-gift from Narasimha II. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao has disproved the statement that Narasimha II subdued the seven chiefs of Mālava. The word Mālava is not found in stanza 35 and elsewhere in this particular context in any Ms. The word is 'Mālamumam' which probably corresponds to 'ēḍu mādemulu' as suggested by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao. The fact that Narasimha II defeated a certain king named Mahipāla finds support in one of the introductory stanzas of the Sanskrit Drama 'Chanda Kausika' by Ārya Kshemēswara who lived in the tenth century (A. A. Macdonell's History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 366)

Next, we come to a most important point in the geneology of Arikesarin II. Dr. Fleet remarks that 'the poet's patron, Arikesarin II was the son of Yuddhamalla II, that his wife was Chandrānana and that his territory was called the Joḷa country i.e. the land of the great millet. Pampa does not mention anywhere that the name of the wife of Dugdhamalla II was 'Chandrānana' or any other. He is simply silent about this. The name of the wife of Narasimha II is Jakavve according to Pampa. The epithets 'Chandrānana' and 'Viḷḷuniḷḷalake' are only words qualifying her beauty. As such the name 'Chandrānana' does not occur in the whole geneology of Arikesarin II as far as Pampa is aware of it. This is not the only place wherein Pampa says that Jākavve is the wife of Narasimha II. He states in another place (P.B. XII 132) that Arikesarin II was born of Narasinga and Jakavve. So the statement of Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao that Mr. Sarma makes Arikesarin II the son of his own elder brother Narasimha II needs modification. In fact, Narasimha II is the father of Arikesarin II.

From the above discussion, it is clear that Dr. Fleet did not give a faithful interpretation of the geneology of Arikesarin II as Pampa gave it. All that we can say is that he was a bit careless while doing so. The suggestions of Mr. Sarma could have been treated by Mr. B. V. K. Rao with more courtesy and consideration. In the light of this Ve(le)muluvāḍa inscription of Arikesarin II, the opinion expressed by Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhacharya, in the M.A.R. for 1916 (pp. 46 para 70), that the Chalukyan chief Narasinga mentioned in the inscription at Kukaraballi near Mysore is the father of the patron of Pampa, I think, needs revision. The minor Chalukyan chiefs mentioned here may probably be the descendants of Bhadradeva or the other sons of Dugdhamalla I and Baddeya mentioned in the above pedigree and this Narasimha may be one of these. These chiefs must have migrated from their original abode, probably due

to political expediency, to the south of Mysore. This view is not entirely conjectural. Sōmadēva, the author of 'Yasastilaka Champu' in the colophon at the end of the book writes as follows:—

शक नृपकालातीत संवत्सर शतेष्वष्टसु एकशीत्यधिकेषु सिद्धार्थ संवत्सरान्तर्गत
चैत्रमास मदन द्वयोदस्यां पाण्डवसिंह लोच चेरमप्रभृतीन् महीपतीन् प्रसाध्य मेल्वादी
प्रवर्धमान राज्यप्रभावो श्रीकृष्णराजदेवे सति तत्पादपद्मोपजीविनः समधिगतः पञ्चमहा
शब्द महासामन्ताधिपते श्रालुक्यकुलजन्मनः सामन्तचूडामणेः श्रीमदरिकेसरिणः
प्रथम पुत्रस्य श्रीमहाभरत प्रवर्धमान वसुधाराणां गंगधारायां विनिर्भित भिदं काव्यमिति

From the above it is clear that in 959 A.D. one Vāgarāja, eldest son of Arikesari, the feudatory chief of Krishnaraja III, was ruling over the Ganga country. This Vāgarāja may be the son of Arikesari II through his wife Kēvaka-rinumaḍe mentioned in line 48 of Vē(ḷe)muluvāḍa grant. Hence it may be presumed that other members of the family might have come over to Mysore earlier than or with Vāgarāja.

A word is necessary about the 'Joḷa-country or the land of the great millet' which has been made much of. Pampa does nowhere mention that there was such a country. Both Dr. Fleet and Lewis Rice have mis-construed the meaning of the word '*Jēḷaḍa pāḷi*' which occurs in stanza 50, canto XIV of P.B. It means 'gratitude in return for the food given by another'. There are other literary usages of this word which in all cases means the same thing as above. (See Kannataka Kavicharite I.p. 31 ff) So it is clear that there was no such country as Joḷa-country and Pampa did never mean it.

Regarding the capital of Arikesarin II. Mr. B. V. K. Rao has proved that it was not Puligere. He has found other evidences which state that there was another chief, a contemporary of Arikēsarin II, ruling over Puligere. It is obvious that two chiefs cannot rule over the same province with the same capital at the same time. So the capital of Arikēsarin II must have been some other town. The *agrahāram* of Dharmavaram which was bestowed upon Pampa with an inscriptional charter (P. B. XIV, 56) for his poetry cannot be the modern Dambhol near Dharwar as Arikesarin II had no control over the Puligere three hundred province in which that village was situated. It must be, as Mr. B. V. K. Rao suggests another village of the same name 'in the vicinity of Kollipāka'. Pampa's object in writing the Stanza in which Puligere occurs (P. B. XIV, 58) was only to suggest that he was writing in the purest and 'pithy Kannada - of Puligere'. Other poets also considered that the dialect of Kannada around Puligere was a standard one (See Kavirāja mārga I. 36; Gadāyuddha I, 37).

Before I conclude this article, I may venture to make a suggestion regarding the authorship of the text of the Vē(le)muluvāḍa grant of Arikesarin II. Pampa has almost literally translated the two stanzas, Nos. 3 and 4 of this inscription in his Pampa Bhārata (Compare P. B. I. stanzas 16, 17). Even the obscure word पोदन्, whose reading is indicated by the editor of the inscription as uncertain, and which occurs in line 13, is to be found in the stanza No. 17 of P. B. I. in its derived form (*tadbhava*) 'bōdana' to which the editors of P.B. have given the meaning viz. 'a water tank made of cement'. Pampa, a great poet as he was, could not have condescended to translate the stanzas of this inscription if its author were any other inferior versifier. Moreover Pampa himself was capable of composing verses in Sanskrit as is evidenced by a few stanzas, which are entirely in the Sanskrit language, occurring in his two works. On these grounds, one is led to suggest that the composer of this inscription must have been Pampa himself.

A STUDY OF TELUGU ROOTS

DR, C. NARAYANA RAO, M.A., L.T., Ph.D.

(Continued from page 7 of Vol VI Part 1)

(39) mu.

(a) Roots in *n*, *mp*, *mbh*, or *m*:—ōmu (*van*); tunumu, tuḡumu (*trimp*h), chirumu (*jrimbh*), adumu(*dam*), kadumu(*kram*),

(b) Prefix plus root in *m*:—arumu, alamu(*ākram*); usumu(*udyam*) orumu(*upakram*), pulumu(*pralump*);

(c) Past passive participle:—gadumu(*gaditam*); tsadumu, tsaḡumu chidumu, cheḡumu(*chittam*); tuḡumu(*truṭitam*); nōmu(*nutam* or *nuttam*), etc.

(d) Denominative:—nulumu(*unmālana*), poḍamu(*sphuṭam*) etc.

(40) mmu.

(a) Root in *m*:—krammu(*kram*); nammu(*narm*);

(b) Past passive participle:—tummu(*kshutam*);

(c) Denominative:—chimmu, jimmu(*syandenam*, *sēchanam*), pammu(*pravartanam*); prammu(*parivēshanām*); etc.

(41) yu.

(a) Roots in *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*, *ch*, *j*, *kṣ*:—

amayū(*makṣ*), arayū(*rakṣ*, *lukṣ*), alayū(*alas*), aviyyu(*vraśch*), iḍ(ṛ)iyu (*riś*, *riṣ*), elayū (*laś*), ēyyu(*iś*), kala(i)yyu (*kriś*, *kaṛṣh*), kiniyyu(*kli*, or from *khinna*), kudiyyu (*kuts*), kūyyu(*kūj*), keḍayū(*kliś*, *kriś*), krikkiriyyu (*kriś kriś*) kroyū(*kruñch*), giyyu (*kriśh*), tēyyu (*tij*, *tish*), ḍ(ḍ)ūyyu(*ḍush*), dor(ṛ)ayū(*drīś*), pariyyu(*prīsh*, *prīsh*), pāyyu(*bhāj*, *pāms*, *apas*); por(ṛ)ayū(*pruśh*), polayū(*pluśh*), pōyyu(*prōksh*, *prōsh*), malayū(*mloś*), mur(ṛ)iyū(*mrīś*), ṛ(ṛ)ēyyu(*rich*, *riḥ*), rōyyu (*rush*, *ruś*), lāyyu(*lash*, *las*), vrēyyu(*vraśch*), solayū(*su alas*) etc.

(b) Prefix plus root:—ārayū(*ālaksh*, *āraksh*), ur(ṛ)iyū(*udīch*), uliyyū(*udras*), oḍiyyū(*avadhrīsh*), olayū(*ullas*), neṛ(ṛ)ayū(*nirviś*), bigiyyū (*vikriśh*, *vikriś*), beḍiyyū(*vidriś*), bel(ṛ)ayū(*virach*), meṛayū(*vilas*), valayū (*avalash*), viriyyū(*virich*), velayū(*vilas*);

(c) Prefix and root plus 'ya':—penayū(*pi* or *apinahya*);

(d) Root plus 'ish':—eg(v)ayū(*edh*), kadiyyū(*śkad*), kaniyyū (*klam*), kamiyyū(*kram*, or *klam*); kaviyyū(*kram*), guniyyū(*kvan*), tsadiyyū, chidiyyū (*cchid*), chenayū(*svid*), chelayū(*chal*), dzaḍiyyū(*chal*), *slath*, *srath*, *ṣabḍ*), nōyyū(*nud*); paḍayū(*pad*, *pat*), muḍiyyū(*mri*), inadiyyū(*vṛidh*), valiyyū(*vyariś*);

- (e) *Avyaya* plus root:—eḍayū(*prithakkṛi*);
 (f) *Avyaya* plus root:—solayū(*su alas*);
 (g) Prothetic 'y':—oḍiyū(*udḍi*), māyū(*mlai, mlā*), miḍiyū, viḍiyū(*viḍi*), oliyū(*ulla*), etc.
 (h) Root plus passive 'ya':—kōyū(*krity*), krāyū(*grivy*), mōyū(*vahy*)
 (i) Noun and root 'sya' futural:—taḍayū(*taṭasthā*), morayū, mrōyū(*mukha ras*);
 (j) Past passive participle plus 'ishy':—vaḍiyū(*udita*);
 (k) Denominative:—taniyū(*ṭṛishṇā*), puliyū(*puti*), muguyū, monayū(*mukha*);
 (l) Adjective plus 'ish':—teliyū(*dhavala*);
 (m) buliyū, cf. Hindi *būlā*.

(42) yyu.

- (a) Root plus 'ya':—
 krayyū(*krish*), groyyū(*krīś, kruñch*), ḍayyū, dayyū(*dhṛish*), ḍuyyū
 duyyū(*dush*), treyyū(*traksh*), bruyyū(*bhṛas*); etc.

(43) ru.

- (a) Root in *ch-*, *śh*, *s*, *r*, etc:—
 amaru(*mraś, mraśh*); āru(*ās, aṭ*); kamaru(*klam*); kasaru(*karśh, gharśh*); kēru(*gṛi*); kōru(*karśh*); tsūru(*śush*), talaru, tūru(*stṛi*), tiru, tūru(*ṭṛi*), timuru, tivuru(*tvar*), pēru(*prī*); pēru (*prāk. puar*), vāru(*vraśch*) etc.
 (b) Reduplication of root:—aḍ(d)aru, aduru(*aṭ aṭ*), etc.
 (c) Root plus 'kṛi':—eguru(*ēdh kṛi*);
 (d) Root plus 'ish':—eduru(*rudh*), chiduru, chīru, gīru (*chid*), toḍaru(*tuḍ*), padaru(*vad*), paduru(*pat*), viduru, bedaru, pīru (*bhiḍ*), maduru(*mad*), muduru(*vṛidh*), musaru, mūru(*mush*), etc.
 (e) Root plus 'aṭ':—esaru, ēsarū(*ēśh*), kosaru(*kuñch*), krummaru (*kram*), tsamaru(*śam*), pokāru(*bhaj*), musaru(*mush*), vanduru(*vyadh*), vadaru vanaru(*vad*), etc.
 (f) Prefix plus root:—udaru(*ud aṭ*), nimu(vu)ru(*nirmṛis*);
 (g) Prefix and root plus 'ish':—pāru(*pravṛit*), vēsa(*sā*) ru (*vyaś*) etc.
 (h) Prefix plus past passive participle plus 'aṭ':—onarū, ponarū, monarū(*upapanna*) etc.
 (i) Past passive participle:—chedaru(*cchidra*), etc.
 (j) Past passive participle plus 'ish':—eḍaru(*viddha*);
 (k) Past passive participle plus 'aṭ':—kaduru, kodaru(*khadita* or *kṛita*), kuduru, kūru(*kṛita*),
 (l) Denominative:—ḍākuru(*dakṣhiṇa kṛi*), tsamaru(cf. *chapṛta*).

(44) Ru.

(a) Root in *ś, sh, s, ri* etc.:—*aṛu*, *āṛu*(*arś*), *ēmaru*(*vismṛi*), *kēṛu*(*kash*), *dūṛu*(*dush*), *māṛu*(*māś*);

(b) Reduplicated root:—*īḍēṛu*(*ish, ish*), *daddaṛu*(*tvar tvar*);

(c) Root plus 'ish':—*echchiṛu*(*vṛidh*), *krammaṛu*(*kram*), *givuṛu*, *gīṛu*, *chīṛu*, *jīṛu*(*cchid*), *dzāṛu*(*śri, śrav, ślath*), *tāṛu*, *tēṛu*(*tṛi*).

(d) Prefix plus root:—*pāṛu*(*prasṛi*);

(e) Prefix plus root plus 'ish':—*pāṛu*(*pravāḥ*).

(45) RRu.

(a) Root:—*dzurru*(*jush*), *kurru*(*kaj*);

(46) lu.

(a) Past passive participle:—

agalu, *agulu*, *aulu*(*khāta, ghāta*); *adalu*, *aḍalu*(*cf. H. ḍar*); *isaḍilu*(*sithilita*); *echchirilu*(**vardhyiā*); *eḍalu*(**bhittā*); *elu*(*edhita*); *oralu*, *Rōlu*(*ruditi*); *kadalu*, *kudulu*(*skhalita, skadita, skudita*); *kanalu*, *kanārilu*(*cf. Skt. kanala = shining*); *kamalu*, *kālu*, *kumulu*, *kumārilu*(*klamita*); *kudiki-lu*(*skudita*); *kuppatilu*(*garvita*); *kummarilu*(*kumphita*); *kusulu*, *kūlu*(*knāchita*); *keralu*(*kajita, krudhdha*); *krālu*(*krānta*); *kraṅgilu*(*kruñchita*); *krōlu*(*grihita, kṛishṭa*); *chindilu*(*cchindita*); *chikilu*(*chakita*); *chiṭilu*, *chiṭlu*, *dīlu*, *ḍīlu*, *saḍalu*(*sithila*); *chīlu*(**chita*); *tsat(d)ikilu*(*sadita*); *tsālu*(*sādhita*); *tagulu*, *tavulu*, *taulu*(*stugita*); *tar(x)alu*, *tarlu*, *tei(x)alu*(*tarita*); *tūlu*(*dhūta*); *toḍikilu*(*truṭkṛita*); *toṭṛilu*(*tōtrita*); *doṅgilu*(*taskarita*); *nogulu*(*nud kṛita*); *pagulu*(*bhakta*); *pigulu*, *pīlu*, *pekalu*, *pegalu*, *pēlu*(**bhikta*) or (*bhid-kṛita*); *podalu*(*vardhita*); *poralu*, *porlu*(*pravartita*); *pogulu*, *povulu*(*plush-kṛita*); *prēlu*(**brāta*); *baḍalu*, *vaḍalu*, *vadalu*, *vadulu*, *vidalu*(*bādhita*); *malu*, *mrālu*(*mlāta*); *muṅgilu*(*mukharita*); *mu(mru)* *chchilu*(*mushita*) *ragulu*(*rañjita*); *Rōlu* *rāsita*; *vaṛalu*(*varita*); *vasulu*(*apasarita*); *vālu*, *vrālu*(*avapāta*); *vīlu*(*vihita*); *vidulu*, *veḍalu*, *velalu*(*vikṛita*); *velikilu*(*banishkṛita*); *vēlu*, *vrēlu*(*vidhṛita, vivṛita*); *sōlu*(*śramita*).

(b) Prefix plus past passive participle:—*āgubbatilu*(*āgarvita*);

(47) llu.

(a) Past passive participle:—

allu(*vallita*); *uḍkillu*(*ushñikṛita*); *egasillu*(*eshkṛita*); *kaṇtagillu*, (*kaṇṭkita*); *kattarillu*, *tattarillu*(*tvarita*); *krammarilu*(*kramishita*); *gilu*(*kshata, kshipta*); *gūnugillu*(*khunṭita, kuñchita*); *chippillu*(*kshipta*); *chemmagillu*(*tīm kṛita*); *tsallu*, *chellu*(*talaḍillu, chālita*); *tsāgillu*(*sādh kṛita*); *tsoppillu*, *dzobbillu*(*kshubhita*); *ṭhavaṇillu*(*sthānita*); *ḍullu*, *ḍollu*(*sithilita*); *tārasillu*(*dharshita*); *ṭuppaṭillu*(*tarpita*); *toṭṛillu*(*truṭita*); *tēlagillu*(*dhṛita, kṛita, tarita kṛita*); *daṇḍasillu*(*daṇḍita*); *daddaṇillu*, *daddirlu*(*trasta*); *dura-pillu*(*dashāpita*); *dusikillu*(*dushkṛita*); *dūpillu*, *dūpaṭillu*(*trishāpita*);

nitrillu(*nishṭhita*); pikkaṭillu(*prithakkṛita*, *vardhita*); chippillu(*cchidāpita*); pellagillu(*prithakkṛita*); baṇḍigillu(*baṇḍikṛita*); bānagillu(*balātkṛita*); bītagillu(*prithakkṛita*); beṇḍagillu(**bhind-kṛita*); beggillu, beggaḍillu(*bharjita*); bollu(**brāta*); bōragillu(cf. Hindi *bōltā*); mandāṭillu(*mandita*); mampillu(*mudāpita*); mēṭillu(*mahita*); moraṭillu(*mukharita*); Rantillu, rollu(*raṭita*); loggaḍillu(*rugna*, **rōgita*); sannagillu(*ślaksṇīkṛita*); sompillu(cf. *sundara*); hechchillu, hechchirillu, (*vardhita*); etc.

(b) Prefix plus past passive participle:—

āvaṭillu(*āpatita*); ūraḍillu(*ucchvṣita*); ūsarillu(*utsarita*); aḍagillu(*vidhṛita*); emaṇillu(*viśmarita*); oḍḍagillu, ottagillu, ottillu(*upahata*); ollagillu(*upahṛita*); ōṭillu, ōhaṭillu(*avahṛita*); ōḍigillu, ōragillu(*avahṛita*); depparillu(**āpodita* for *apanno*); paridhavillu(*paristhāta*); pallaṭillu(*pariyasta*) pāyagillu(*apāsta*); etc.

(48) ḷu.

Past passive participle:—tāḷu(*sthāta*, *dhṛita*);

(49) ḷḷu.

Past passive participle:—kuḷḷu, krullu(*karṣita*); treḷḷu(*truṭita*); truḷḷu(*dripta*); veḷḷu(*vidhṛita*); saḷḷu(*ślathita*);

(50) vu.

(a) Softening of final gu and gu:—aṛuvu(*riś*); aluvu(*rush*); uḍuvu(*avahṛi*); uvu(*udvij*); esavu(*zsh*); oduvu(*vardh*); osavu(*upās*); ōvu(*udahṛi*); cheruvu(*chaksh*); chelavu(*cchid*); tsaduvu(*śabd*); taḍavu(*taḍ*); talavu(*tri*); tavu(*sthag*); toḍuvu(*dhṛita*); trāvu(*trish*); ta(*tra*)vvu(*taksh*, *traksh*); etc.

(b) Root:—avu(*bhā*, Prak. *hā*, *ō*, *a*, *u*, *avu*).

(51) vvu.

(a) ovvu(*udāhṛi*); kavvu(cf. *kavala* = a morsel); kivvu(*kliś*); chivvu(*cchidāp*) travvu, trevvu(*traksh*);

(52) su.

There are no roots in Telugu ending in 'su', but one such 'parasu' has been recorded. This may after all be a Hindūsthānī verb and perhaps is to be connected with Sanskrit *sārasa* or *sadrīśa*.

9. It will be seen from the detailed examination made above of Telugu verbal bases that every one of the endings can be accounted for on a Prākṛitic basis. The meaning of the Telugu verbal bases and the Sanskrit roots given above are almost the same and Prākṛit forms of the Sanskrit originals can easily be derived according to the rules of the Prākṛit grammarians. The examples given can in many cases be paralleled from one or other of the Prākṛits but the predominant feature will be found to accord with the Apabhraṃśa form of the Prākṛit in so far as every one of the forms in Telugu ends in 'u'. This is prominent in

Sindhi and some other Modern Aryan languages. The course and development of Telugu, as, in fact, of any language whatsoever, is very composite and complex, and requires great patience and perseverance to unravel all the ramifications of the various Prākṛitic elements that have contributed to the structure of the language. Some attempt had been made by Telugu grammarians to separate the various Prākṛitic elements in Telugu, but their attention was confined only to a small portion of the vocabulary and not at all to the structure of the language. Their investigation was confined only to the affinities among the six main Prākṛits generally dealt with in Prākṛit grammars which were written at a time when all touch with the living Prākṛits was lost. Even now, our sources for the study of the Prākṛits are mostly of the same character, but we are in a better position now because the principles of modern philology will help us a great deal in proceeding much further than the ancient grammarians could have gone.

10. The examples given above may not in all cases be correct; they should be taken only as indications of the way in which to pursue the investigation in the matter. It is in the very nature of things impossible to find the exact Prākṛit equivalents of Telugu basic forms because Telugu is a living language and embraces all the aspects of human life, while such extant prākṛit literature as we possess is concerned mostly with a particular phase of it. Much of the vocabulary, therefore, of the Prākṛits is hidden from us and it may be suggested that the original living Prākṛit words and forms still parade before us in a much disguised form. It would be the task of modern philology to find them out. It will not do to turn our faces from this problem but a serious attempt has to be made to see if it is possible to bring the Dravidian languages in line with the other modern Aryan languages of India. There will be time enough to resort to extra-Indian affinities if this hypothesis falls to the ground. My purpose in presenting this paper before the scholars assembled here is certainly not to claim finality to my views but only to draw pointed attention to a point of view which has been completely neglected since the time of Caldwell. The humble effort made in this paper will have been amply rewarded if others also take up the problem and work in the same direction, so that it will become possible to exchange views, which is, after all, the purpose of this Conference.

CAPITAL OF THE BRHATPHALAYANAS.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A.

Elsewhere¹ I am showing that, among the successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Eastern Deccan, the Śālañkāyanas were reigning at Veñgī even in the 2nd century A. D. and that the Salakēnoi and their premier city Bēnagouran (possibly a mistake for Bēngaouron = Vēñgapura) mentioned in the Geography (VII. i. § 79) of Ptolemy (circa 140 A.D.) are to be identified with the Śālankāyanas and their capital Vēñgīpura respectively. In the present note, we shall see that most probably the Brhatphalāyanas were also a ruling power during the suzerainty of the Sātavāhanas.

The only copper-plate grant of the dynasty, belonging to king Jayavañma (Jayavarman) Brhatphalāyana was discovered at Kondamudi, a place in the Tenali Taluq of the Kistna District, Madras Presidency (Ep. Ind. VI. 315). The grant was issued in the 10th regnal year of Jayavarman from *viṣaya-khañdhāvārā nagarā kudūrāḥ*, i.e., the vijayaskandhāvārā of the town of Kudūra. It is for this reason that scholars have taken Kudūra (modern Gudura, near Masulipatam) to be the capital where the Brhatphalāyanas ruled. Prof. Dubreuil, as for instance, writes: "The Kondamudi plates (Ep. Ind., Vol. VI. p. 315) are dated in the 10th year of king Jayavarman, of the Brhatphalāyanas, who reigned at Kudūra"; and again: "The town of Kudūra, which was the capital of Jayavarman in the third century of the christian era, is but the modern village of Gudūra, which is 4 miles west-north-west of Masulipatam and 6 miles from the village of Ghañṭāsālā..." (Ancient History of the Deccan, pp. 84—5). The Professor has rightly identified the place with Koddōūra (135° 11' 20") in the country of Maisōlia (Masulipatam), mentioned in the Geography of Ptolemy (VII. i. 15)

It is, however, interesting to note that Koddour has been mentioned not as a metropolis, but only as an ordinary place by Ptolemy, who is believed to have written his Geography in the middle of the 2nd century A. D. The archaic characters used in the Kondamudi inscription

1 An "Epigraphic Note" on the "Geneology of the Salankayanas" to be published shortly in the Ind. Hist. Quart.; also the author's forthcoming work, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Eastern Deccan*,

and its phraseological connection with the grants of Gautamīputra Śāta-karṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi assign the grant to the early years of the 3rd century A. D. Should we, then, believe that the Brhatphalāyanas became a ruling power just after the decline of the Śātavāhanas in the end of the 2nd century and established themselves at Kudūra (= Koddoura) from where they issued charters as early as the beginning of the 3rd century A. D? It is, however, far more natural to think that they were originally a local ruling power under the suzerainty of the Śātavāhanas and gradually rose to prominence after the latter's decline.

The city of Kudūra has been called a *Vijaya-skandhāvāra* in the Kondamudi plates. The word *skandhāvāra* generally means "a camp", but according to the Lexicographer Hemachandra it may also mean "a metropolis". While on expedition, oriental kings are known to have held courts in camps. The use of the term *skandhāvāra* in the sense of metropolis is most probably due to such a practice. *Skandhāvāra* (as also possibly the term *vāsaka*) appears to mean a temporary-residence and, therefore a temporary capital, of a king. It is then very doubtful whether Kudūra, the "victorious *skandhāvāra*" of Jayavarman, could be the permanent capital of the Brhatphalāyanas.

The town of Kudūra, which was the political centre of Kudūra-hāra, i. e., the Kudūra District, has been identified, as we have already seen, with a village in the Bandar or Masulipatam Taluk. Kondamudi plates appear to prove that this region was a part of the Brhatphalāyana kingdom in the early years of the 3rd century A. D. The capital of the Brhatphalāyanas seems, therefore, to be somewhere not far from the Masulipatam region.

In this connection, it is very interesting to note that Ptolemy makes mention of the *metropolis of Petandra (135° 12°) in the country called Maisolia (Masulipatam)*. This Pitūndra metropolis has been identified by Prof. Sylvain Lēvi with Pihunda of the Uttarādhyāyana and Pithuḍa of the Hatigumpha inscription of king Khāravela. We have seen that the Brhatphalāyanas ruled over the Masulipatam region, which is to be identified with the Maisolia of Ptolemy. Pitūndra (135° 12°), which was the capital of Maisolia in the time of Ptolemy (circa 140 A. D.) and was situated very near Kudūra (= Koddoura 135° 11° 20'), appears therefore almost certainly to have been the capital of Jayavarman Brhatphalāyana, ruler of the Masulipatam region in the early years of the 3rd century A. D.

If we now accept the reading *pithuda* in a passage of the Hatigumpha inscription and the interpretation that king Khāravela of Kalinga besieged the city of Pithuḍa, it is not impossible to think that the Brhatphalāyanas were ruling at Pithuḍa (= Pitūndra) as early as the time of Khāravela (2nd or 1st century B. C.)

THE INSCRIPTION OF THE SIVA TEMPLE AT PURNAPATNA.

SRI LAKSHMINARAYAN HARICHANDAN JAGALEB.

There is a station named Purnapatna on the way to Parlakimidi from Naupada Railway Station. Formerly in that place there was a Fort and a town. So it is termed as Patna. It is supposed that the ancient rulers of Parlakimidi had their capital here. The present rulers of Parlakimidi have founded their capital in Parlakimedi. So the former capital is called Old Patna or Purnapatna in Oriya. In Purnapatna there is a goddess. This Goddess which bestows the gifts of safety, is seated in the posture of lotus seat (padmasana). The people of this part devoutly worship this Goddess. It is presumed that this Goddess might have been the guardian angel of Parlakimidi. Not far from the seat of this Goddess, on the banks of the river Mahendratana is situated the Sivalaya Neelakanteswara. There are four Sivalayas in four corners of it. Generally in front of the Sivalaya is a Mandapa to locate the Bull; but in front of this Sivalaya is a 'Mukhasali temple' where the Bull is located. To the east of this Mukhasali temple there is a Mandapa in which another big Bull made of stone is placed. There are gateways to the East, West and South of this Mukhasali. To the north of this Mukhasali temple, there is a separate temple of Mahishamardani (Goddess) facing to the South and in front of it is a small Sivalaya with Sivalinga in it. On a rock, at the inside top of the Southern gate of the said Mukhasali temple are two inscriptions carved separately in Oriya script by one person on two subjects. The first is in 1713 Sakabda. 1791 A. D. in 25th Anka of Gajapati Narayan Deb Rajah of Parlakimidi and in the Gajapati Era 1112; the Mukhasali temple was constructed in front of the Neelakanteswara temple. The second tells that Jagannath Narayan Deb's eldest son, the said Gajapati Deb constructed the Mukhasali as told in the first inscription of Neelakanteswara and appointed seven families of Pandas as worshippers. Up to this date, these seven families of Pandas are worshipping the seven gods and goddesses within the compound of Neelakanteswara. From the letters of the inscription and the mode of carving, it is evinced that the second followed the first within a short time. The Rajah of Parlakimidi named Narahari Narayan Deb conquered Mulikikhan, the Nawab of Chicacole. The sword by which Mulikikhan's head was cut off, is named 'Mulikimardan Khanda' which is preserved in Parlakimidi. From that date, in

memory of that conquest an Era is observed hereditarily in Parlakimidi Royal family. Calculating from that date, it is 112 Gajapati years up to the time of Gajapati Narayan Deb and this year relates to the numerical figure 112 found in the inscription. This Rajah reigned from 1694—1724 Sakabda (1772—1802 A. D.) The dimensions of the inscribed stone slab is 4 ft by 9 inches. Both the inscriptions are inscribed in Oriya language and in Oriya script. Both the inscriptions are each inscribed in 5 lines. The first line of the second inscription is commenced from the top of the first inscription and runs by the side of the first inscription. Outside the gate where the above said inscriptions are, we find at the top of the gate Siva with Parvati carved on a stone. There are also two human figures standing near Siva and Parvati. We find also two names Viz., Rasya Maharana & Ramayya, inscribed which perhaps relate to the sculptors who constructed the Mukhasali temple.

Reading of the 1st Inscription.

- 1 श्रीशुभमस्तु वीरश्री गणपतिगौडेश्वर¹ नवकोटि कर्णाटक कलवर केश्वर
- 2 श्रीवीरवीराधिवर श्रीगजपति छत्तपति श्रीगजपतिनारायणदेवमहाराजा-
- 3 ङ्कर २५ पञ्चसि अङ्क विरोधिकृतिसम्बत्सर भाद्रव कृष्ण येकादशी गुरु (वार)
दिन एमु-
- 4 खस्यालि² उच्छ³ देउल निर्वाण हेला ॥११२॥ श्रीगजपतिनारायणदेव कृत्यए
- 5 गतशकाब्दाः ११७३॥

Reading of the second inscription.

- 1 वीरश्री गजपति गौडेश्वर नवकोटि कर्णाटक कलवरकेश्वर श्रीवीराधिवीर श्रीगजपति
छत्तपति जगन्नाथ नारायणदेवमहा
- 2 राजाङ्कर येष्टपुत्र गजपतिदेवमहाराजा
- 3 श्रीश्रीमहाराजाङ्क आज्ञाप्रमाणे श्री नी
- 4 लकणेश्वरङ्क मुकुसालि² [उ] च्छ³ देउल निर्वाण⁴
- 5 रे ७ हर⁵ पण्डादि ए नियुक्त समस्त विषयरे ॥

- | | | |
|------------|-----------------------------|------|
| 1 गौडेश्वर | 2 मुखसालि, मुखशालि, मुखचालि | 3 उच |
| 4 निर्माण | 5 घर | |

Brief translation of the 1st inscription.

Sri Gajapati Narayan Deb Maharajah who was the king of Gowda, Karnata and etc. kingdoms constructed a big Mukhasali temple in his 25th reigning year 112 Gajapati year on Thursday the 11th day of Dark fortnight of Bhadrapada month of Virodhikrit year of Saka 1173.

Brief translation of the 2nd inscription.

Gajapati Deb, eldest son of Sri Jagannath Narayan Deb Maharajah constructed Sri Neelakanṭheśvara's big Mukhasali temple and appointed seven archaka families as worshippers with the permission of the Maharajah.

FURTHER LIGHT ON THE KAKATIYAS.

M. RAMA RAO, B.A., (HONS.) B. Ed.

While publishing a "List of Inscriptions discovered in the Nizam's Dominions" in the previous number of this journal,¹ I have given the full text of an inscription from Kazipet² in the Warangal District. The object of this paper is to show the importance of this record and the changes that it makes in our knowledge of Kakatiya History.

1. The geneology—Beta *alias* Tribhuvanamalla is considered to have been the earliest known king of this dynasty. I have shown elsewhere that this is an error and that Beta was preceded by his father Prola I.³ The inscription under consideration bears this out. It further mentions that this Prola I was preceded by another Beta, whom we may call Beta I. Thus another early generation of the Kakatiya kings is brought to light.

2. The Chronology—I have stated previously⁴ that the earliest mention of the Kakatiyas is in connection with Guṇḍaya *alias* Kākartya Guṇḍayana, in a C. P. grant of the time of the Eastern Chalukyan king Ammaraja II. This Guṇḍaya has been assigned to about 950—999 A.D. We next hear of Prola I of 1050—1080 A. D. Thus there is gap of about 50 years between the two chieftains. The inscription under consideration fills up this gap by locating Beta I. therein. Calculating at the rate of thirty years a generation, from the regnal period of Prola I. we arrive at 1020—1050 A. D. for the time of Beta I. Since most of the Kakatiya kings had very long reigns,⁵ we may credit Beta I also with a similar reign and put him immediately after Guṇḍaya and consider him to have flourished between 1000 and 1050 A. D.

3. Beta I—Two facts are known from the Kazipet record, about this king. He is called the "Lord of Kākati-pura". His son it was, that first became lord of the *Ammakonda Vishaya* and probably ruled from Anumakonda. Thus the Kākati-pura has got to be located elsewhere. In a previous article to this Journal,⁶ I have advanced a theory that the Kakatiyas might have migrated to the Telugu country from the village "Kāgati" in the modern Mysore State. This Kākati-pura is probably identical with the above village. The Kazipet inscription further states that Beta I. got great glory by beating the Chōḷa forces. This bears out another proposition of mine, that the early Kakatiyas seceded from the Eastern Chalukyan kingdom after the death of Ammaraja II and were busy acquiring power and territory.⁷ During the chaos that prevailed at this period the Cholas of South India invaded the Vengi country and since then their influence was keenly felt in Eastern

1 Vol. VII pt. 2 pp. 115-124.

2 Ibid. p. 115.

3 See the geneological table on p. 122 of this journal vol. VI part II.

4 Ibid p. 124. 5 Ibid. See the table. 6 Ibid. p. 125. 7 Ibid.

"Chalukyan politics. Prola I. who was immensely profited by this confusion, carved out a small principality for himself and actively fought the intruding Cholas. It is no wonder therefore that his father Beta I. is said to have fought with Chola forces

4. Prola I— The inscription under consideration reveals very interesting facts about Prola I. It is said that he "straightened *Chakrakuta vishaya*". About the year 1060 A. D. Raja Raja the Eastern Chalukyan king and his son Rajendra (alias Kulottunga I) were actively beseiging Chakrakōta. Prola is also credited with the same achievement. It is not known when he did this; nor is it possible to say whether he was a competitor or ally of the Chalukyas. While explaining Prola's rivalry with the Cholas of Kanchi, as per records at Pillalamarri and Palampet, I have supposed that Prola fought the Cholas in conjunction with the allies of Prince Rajendra.⁸ The same might hold good in this case also, though the inscription does not explicitly state it. Possibly the Nāga kings of Chakrakūta attempted to enlarge their own territory and thus came into conflict with the Eastern Chalukyas in the South-East and the Kakatiyas in the South-West. Prola is said to have "put to flight the lord of Bhandrangapura". From an inscription at Bekkallu in the Nizam's Dominions, a number of chieftains bearing the title "Rāhut" are known to have ruled from Bhandrangapura.⁹ These figure as Kakatiya feudatories in the time of Rudra. Evidently, Prola subjugated them. We are told further that Prola conquered *Purakadēsa* by killing the son of Kodvarti Dugga, gained some more territory by defeating a certain Gonna and obtained from Trailōkyamalla, as a permanent gift, the *Anumakonda vishaya*, which comprised all these principalities. We know from other sources that Beta II and Prola II were feudatories of the Western Chalukyan monarch Vikramaditya VI. The Kazipet inscription carries this relation between the two houses, a generation behind. Then it is evident that Prola was the contemporary and feudatory of Somesvara II *alias* Trailōkamalla of Kalyan.

Besides throwing new light on the geneology, chronology and individual history of the Kakatiya kings, the Kazipet inscription enables us to know how the Kakatiyas rose to power. Since the death of Amma Raja, they were busy acquiring as much power and territory as they could, fighting everybody that came in their way. When the affairs in Vengi assumed normal condition, the new aspirants turned towards the centre of the Dekkan. Then they were obliged to face the Western Chalukyas and accepted formal subordination to them, but were really expanding in every possible direction. They obtained their *locus standi* in the Dekkan in the time of Prola I. His son Beta consolidated the position while Prola II whose reign synchronised with the fall of Kalyan, laid the foundations of the independant Kakatiya kingdom.

8. Ibid. p. 126.

9. No. 9 of 'List of Kakatiya Inscriptions' in vol. VII, pt 2 of this Journal.

RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS AT RAJAHMUNDRY.

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

With a view to construct the municipal water-works, the Department of Public Works excavated the site, formerly owned by the Maharajah of Pittapur and now by the Municipality, on the eastern bank of the River Godavari and found, in January 1933, a beautiful stone image of Shaṣṣmukha* (six-faced god) or Kumāraswāmi, seated on a Peacock. Both the God and his Vehicle are wrought out in excellent finish on granite stone with correct proportions as can be seen from the accompanying illustration. From the arrangement made at the bottom of the image, it is learnt that it is the *māla-viraṭ* or original central figure set up in the shrine which must have existed, probably in the 10th or 11th century A.D., at the same site. A figure of *Nandi* or Bull in a couchant posture, with the head missing, is also found close to the image and several pillars and capitals discovered on the site confirm the view that the site was once filled with a saivite shrine. People call the raised site by the name of Pushpagiri and if it is the same as Padmagiri, described in *Bhīmakhaṇḍam* by Poet Sīnāḍha as containing the temple of Veera-bhadrāsawāmi, then these discoveries only confirm the description.*

Close to the place where the image was discovered, nearly 6 feet below the present ground level of the site, was also found a stone inscription 9 inches in width and 15 inches in length in a well-preserved state. It is slightly broken in the top left and right corners and the bottom left corner. It contains 10 lines of matter of which the first four are in the Sanskrit language, and the rest in Telugu. The whole inscription is written in Telugu characters. It is dated *Śakābde Yuga Nanda Rāmdhira* i.e., Ś. 994 which corresponds to A. D. 1072. The grant mentioned in the Sanskrit portion was made, on a Sunday in April of the year, personally by Bhīma, who was foremost among the Brahmins and who was skilful in doing the duties of the illustrious Minister, for the welfare of his parents and it consisted of the gift of a lamp to be burnt in perpetuity to Sṛi Mārkaṇḍa Mahēśwara situated on the eastern bank of the Godavari. The Telugu portion states that, on the occasion of *Vishu samkrānti* and in the prosperous and victorious regnal year 12 of the illustrious Sarvaśōkāśraya Sṛivishnuvardhana Mahārāja, a certain Blīmāna *Ieggollu* endowed, to Mārkaṇḍiśwara *Mahaddēvara* (Great God) a perpetual lamp and 50 sheep which

* It is since found that a fully decorated humped Bull standing on a four-legged stand, made of copper and one big bell and two small bells made of bronze and eight *gyotulu* for burning lights and camphor made of copper have all been unearthed from the same place.

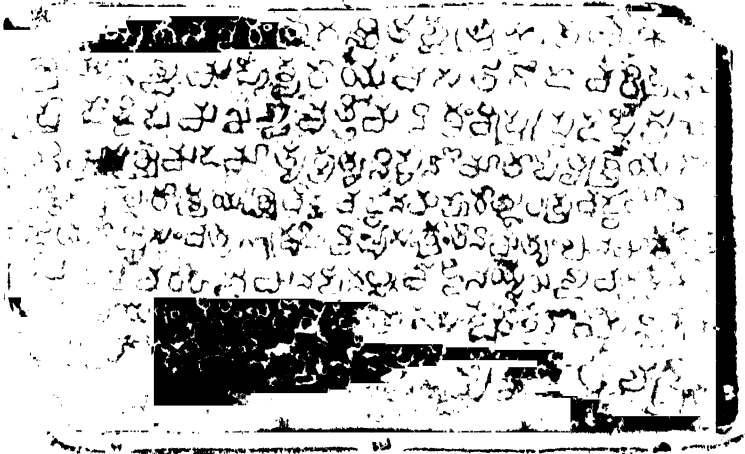
should be taken possession of by Pāpayama Bōyundu who should, as long as the moon and the sun last, offer *Mānenḍu* (one seer) ghee by the measure called *Nandi Mānika* for feeding the said lamp.

From the middle of the 8th line to the last, the original inscription stands erased—and the stone bears clear proof of the same—and the present matter substituted. Probably, a change was found necessary with regard to the donee and the donation.

The king referred to in this grant, as indicated by the date, is no other than Vijayāditya VII who possesses the same titles which are found in this Grant and who had a Minister and Commander by name Bhīmabhūpa to whom he granted several villages for meritorious acts done by him. (Vide J.A.H.R.S. Vol. II, pts. 3 & 4, p. 288.)

*Text of the Inscription.*¹

1. Śakā²bdē yugananda raṁdhra gaṇitē chaitraṁgatē bhāskarē
2. Śrī Mārkkāṇḍa mahēśvarāya vasatē Gōdāvarī prākṛatē
3. prādāddīpa makhaṇḍa vartti maṇisaṁ vipra pradīpōsvayaṁ
4. Bhīmaśśrīmadamātya kṛtya nipuṇō mātāpitṛ śrēyasē
5. Svasti Sarvvalōkāśraya Śrīviṣṇu varddhana mahārājula pravarddha-
māna vi
6. jaya rājya saṁvatsa³ 12 śrahi viṣṇusaṁkrānti nimityaṁbuna
Mārkkāṇḍīśva
7. rā Mahaddēvaraku Bhīmanapeggaḷlu vetṭina yakhaṇḍa vattidiviya I
8. nṭki Gorīya⁴ 50 Vinimjēkoni Pāpayama Bōyundu na
9. ndi mānika mānenḍu neyu⁵ nityapaḍi āchamdrā
10. rka sthāyigā



1. From the original Stone and Estampage taken by me. The first 4 lines are in Sanskrit verse and the rest in Telugu prose.

2. These two letters are only partly visible.

3. Read saṁvatsara.

4. Read Gorīyalu.

5. Read neyyu.



Raja Sri Rao Swetachelapati Ramakrishna Ranga Rao Bahadur,
Raja of Bobbili.

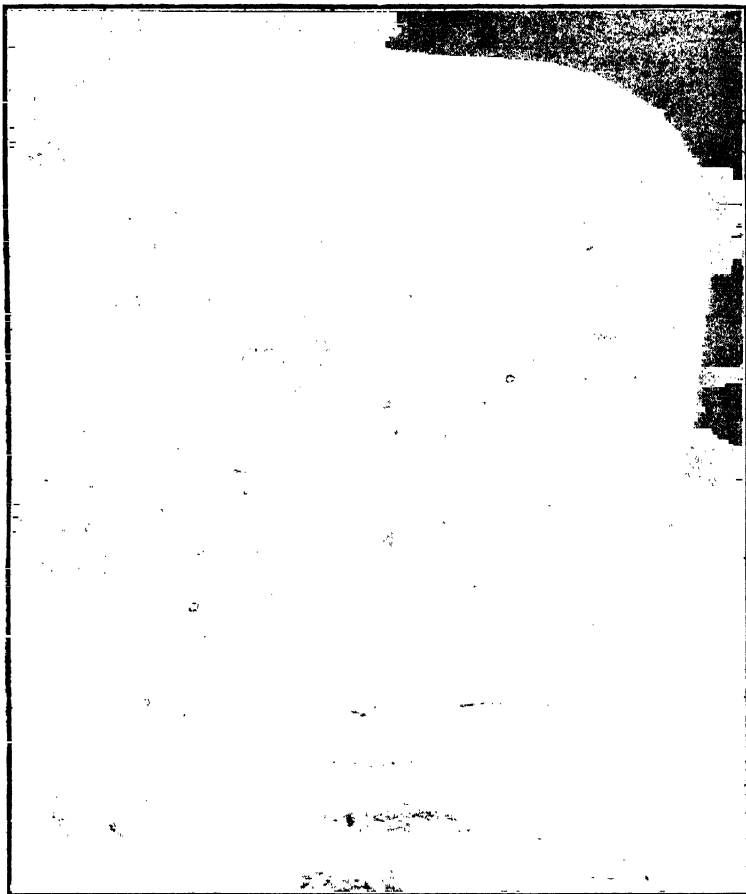


Image of Subrahmanya or Shanmukha. (p. 179)



Premises of recent Archaeological Discoveries (pp. 177-180.)

*Image of Shanmukha or Kumāraswāmi.**

Kārtikēya or Viśākha is known as Subramanya in South India where every village is said to have a temple for him. He is also called Guha and because Gaṇapati was born to Pārvati before Guha, he is called Guhāraja. Worship of Gaṇeśa is really more popular than that of Subramanya, probably because the former not only gives boons but removes all obstacles. Like Subramanya in the form of Kumāraswāmi, *Urddha-Gaṇapati* and *Pingala-Gaṇapati* also possess 6 hands.

Subramanya is also known as Kumāra or Kumāraswāmi. His female counterpart is Kumāri having 4 hands, two of which denote *Abhaya* and *Varada* poses and two hold *Śakti* and *Kukkuṭa*. Her vehicle is a peacock and her *makuta* or headdress is bound with *vāsika*. Her abode is under a fig tree. Her appearance suggests valour and it is believed that, at the time of Siva's fight with Andhakāsura, she, along with the other 6 mātṛkas, prevented the blood of the *asura* from falling on earth lest it should create more *asurās* or Rākshasas.

There is a story that Siva and his wife thought of marrying first whoever of their two sons would go round the earth first and while Subramanya on his Peacock started in earnest on a trip round the world, Gaṇeśa simply went round his parents seven times and claimed the merit of going round the world and got married first and hence Subramanya out of anger retired to Mt. Krauncha to do penance leading a celibate life.

The *vishṇudharmottara* states that she has 6 faces and 12 arms and while two arms denote *varada* and *abhaya* poses, the rest carry *śakti*, *dhvaja*, *daṇḍa*, *dhanus*, *bāṇa*, *ghaṇṭa*, *padma*, *patra*, *paraśu* and *ankuśa*. She has a garland of red flowers.

Śakti, Vajra and Taṇka are Subramanya's characteristic weapons. *Śakti* is another name for spear; *Vajra* for the thunderbolt which consists of 2 similar and connected limbs each having 3 claws resembling those of birds and *Taṇka* for chisel. Subramanya also holds a *Kukkuṭa* or Cock in his hand just as his father Śiva holds a Mṛiga or deer.

Tirupparaṅgunṇam is one of the few sacred places dedicated to the worship of Subramanya now in South India. But it seems there is no shrine for the god nor even a sculptured image of him but yet people worship a group of images there taking them to be those of the God. Some have a notion that Sri Venkateswara on Tirumalai hill was originally Subramanya but it is an image of Hari-Hara.

In the Chalukyan Inscriptions, the kings of both the Eastern and the Western Branches call themselves the devotees of Swāmi

* I have consulted late T. A. Gopinatha Rao's *Indian Iconography*, 2 Vols. for some of the details mentioned under this head.

Mahāsēna (Kumāraswāmi or Kārtikēya) and Saptamāṭṛkas. It is therefore gratifying to find an image of Kumāraswāmi in this place. Stone sculptures bearing in relief figures of Saptamāṭṛakas are found in the Museum premises.

The height of the Image is 2 ft 3 inches and that of the pedestal 3 inches. The breadth of the image is 1½ ft. To the right side of the main head are found three heads and to the left two heads. On the right side, the main hand shows *Abhaya* (Protection) posture. The top first hand holds *Trisūla* (Three headed spear), the second *Gada* (Mace), the third *Kukkuṭa* (Cock), the fourth *Nāgali* (Plough), and the fifth *Vajra* (Spear with two heads). On the left side, the main hand shows *Varada* (Boon) posture. The top first hand holds *Dhanāssu* (Bow), the second *Gaṇḍra gḍḍali* (Battle-Axe), the third *Paṣam* (Chord), the fourth *Padmam* (Lotus), and the fifth *Gumṭa* (Bell). The God wears a crown and garlands in the neck, scarf and jewels for shoulders, arms and wrists.

A Kākatiya Inscription.

In the same municipal premises but on the other side, just in front of the new municipal high school and on a standing pillar is found the following Kākatiya inscription which is already published in Telugu in S. I. Inscriptions Vol. V, No. 116 (A. R. No. 506 of 1893). It is dated in A. D. 1248 and records the foundation, on the occasion of *Uttarāyana samkrānti* (summer solstice), by Kākati Gaṇapati Dēvarāja in the name of his father Mahādēvarāja, of Mahādēvēśvara in the village of Gajjaram and the grant of market rates collected round about Nandanur village for *nivēdyam* and *aṃgarāṃga bhōgam* of the God, in perpetuity. The details of distribution of the income for the several services are also mentioned.

TEXT.*

First Side.

- 1 Śaka Varshaṃbulu 1170 nēmṭṭi yu
- 2 ttarāyana samkrānti lālamunāḥḍdu
- 3 malayamuna Gaṇapati Dēvarāju
- 4 lu tama jiya Mahādēvarāju pēru
- 5 seppi Gajjarāna Mahādēvēśvara Śrīma
- 6 hādēvaranu pratiṣṭa sēsi nivēdyapaḍula
- 7 kunu aṃgarāṃga bhōgālakunu Naḥḍanuūru
- 8 palliyachuṭṭunu aṃgaḍi suṃkamu
- 9 nagarṭila chinṇamu gōmaṭṭa varaka viṣamu
- 10 yeḍa suṃka pa ḥ guḍimaṭṭa penumaṭṭa la
- 11 m vīmṭiki dīpālaku ga ḥ si- ātukūraka
- 12 m ḍa polāna kha ḥ borṃḍini kuṃṣerṃḍu pe
- 13 ṛuka mānerṃḍugā lekanu

Second Side.

- 14 āsaṃdrārṅka sthāyigā nisti |

* Prepared from Text given in S. I. Inscriptions Vol. V, No. 116 and Estampage of the Inscription in my possession.

THE HISTORY OF THE EASTERN GANGAS OF KALINGA.

THE SONS OF ANANTAVARMA CHODAGANGA. A.D. 1147—1198.

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

(Continued from page 132 of Vol. VII, Part 2.)

Chapter VI.

The following Genealogy and Chronology of the successors of Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅga are constructed with the help of the Copper-plate charters of Narasimha deva II,¹³⁵ Bhanudeva II,¹³⁶ and Narasimha deva IV,¹³⁷ the Stone inscriptions of the several kings found in the Mukhalingam,¹³⁸ Srikūrmam, Simhāchellam,¹³⁹ Bhuvanēśvaram and other temples, Mādālāpānji¹⁴⁰ (Oriya Chronicle preserved in the Puri Temple), Gaṅga Vamśānucharitam¹⁴¹ (an unpublished Sanskrit work written by Vāsudēva Bahampati), Muhammadan Histories¹⁴² and Accounts of contemporary dynasties found in inscriptions and literature.

"*The chronology of the Eastern Goṅga Kings of Orissa*" published by the late Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti in J. As. Soc. Beng. old series, Vol. LXXII, part I, pp. 97—141 and adopted entirely by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji in his *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 270—288 is neither complete nor correct. But, as a first attempt of the kind, the work deserves great praise. The late Robert Sewell in his famous work *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, edited by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, collates from the several sources a Pedigree—table of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga and states on page 357 of the work that "the Chronology is based on the assumption that the seventh king, Kāmārṇava III, established the 'Kalinga—Ganga' era as a family era, whose epoch was the year of his accession, viz., A.D. 877-78. The length of reigns is given as in inscriptions, not as necessarily accurate." But the assumption is baseless and unwarranted. The whole question was already discussed by me.

135. The Kendupatna C. P. Grants published in J.As. Soc. Beng Vol. LXV pt. I. No. 3 pp. 229-272.

136. B.C. Muzumdar's Orissa in the Making, pp. 201-203.

137. The Puri Plates published in J. As. Soc. Beng. Vol. LXIV pt. I, No. 2, pp. 128-155.

138. Mukhalingam and Srikurmam Inscriptions in S.I.I. Vol. V.

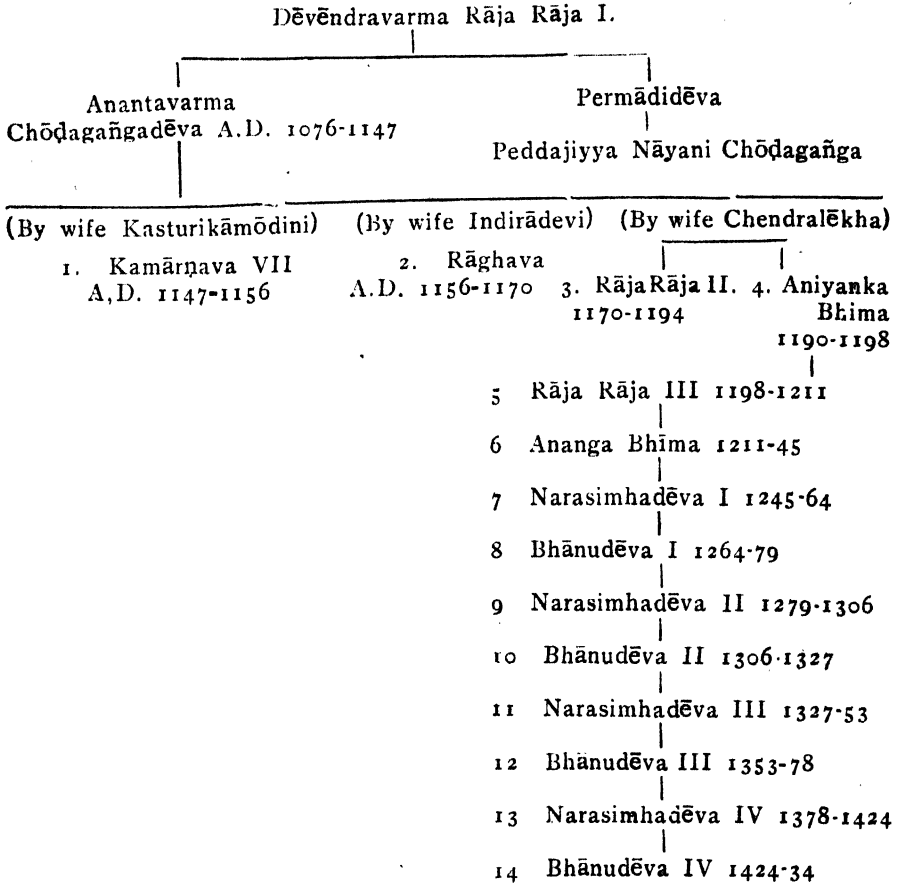
139. Simhachellam Inscriptions in S.I.I. Vol. VI.

140. J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XIII, pp. 10-27

141. J.A.H.B.S. Vol. II, pp. 260-268.

142. Elliot's History of Muhammadan India, Vol. III.

The recent publication of hundreds of Telugu Inscriptions and a few Sanskrit and Oriya ones has thrown new light on the whole subject and it is with their help that the following Pedigree (slightly new from the one already given) is constructed.



1. *Kāmārṇava VII A.D. 1147—1156.*

Both the Puri and the Keṇḍupaṭṭa C.P. Grants give the geneology, the chronology and the history of the Gaṅga dynasty from its historical founder Kolāhala. They describe that Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅga had by his wife called Kaskurikāmōdini a son named Kāmārṇava who was crowned in Ś. 1064 or A. D. 1142 and who ruled for 10 years over the Kalinga Empire with great prowess. One inscription dated Ś. 1071 states¹⁴⁸

that Anantavarma's second wife Dēnavamahādēvi had a son called Aṭṭahāsadēva and another¹⁴⁴ that Aṭṭahāsa had a son called Chōḍagaṅga. This prince, as already noted, was Governor of a province in Ś. 1143 or A.D. 1221. Probably, Aṭṭahāsadēva did not live to succeed his father or his claims, as the son of the second wife, were not so strong and hence Kāmārṇava, the son of the Paṭṭamahishi (Queen Consort) came to the throne. Inscription No. 1110, (S.I.I. Vol. V) records that Chōḍagaṅga had another son called Umāvalabha, who was born to Pṛthvīmahādēvi and who also predeceased the Emperor.

Though the Puri and the Keṇḍupaṭṇa C. P. Grants state that he was annointed in Śaka year 1064, we actually find¹⁴⁵ Grants being made still in the name of Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅga till Ś. 1072 which is said to be equal to his 75th regnal year. However, on account of the old age of Chōḍagaṅga and probably also to interest the Crown-prince in the art of administration, Kāmārṇava had to be annointed in Ś. 1064, as stated in the C. P. charters, to be the joint ruler during the life time of the Emperor himself. An inscription,¹⁴⁶ found in the Srikurmam Temple, dated Ś. 1071 states that that year corresponds to the 4th regnal year of the king who is styled Anantavarma Madhukāmārṇava Dēvara and that the king's Governor-in-chief named Kuppana *Sāhini* made a gift to the Temple. This would give Ś. 1068 as the initial year of the king. Another¹⁴⁷ dated Ś. 1074 states that that year corresponds to his 7th regnal year which also makes Ś. 1068 the initial year of his rule. Another¹⁴⁸ dated Ś. 1071 also states that that year corresponds to the king's 4th regnal year, and that a certain Meḍapōṭa, the Brahmin Minister made a grant of 5 Māḍas (gold coins) for burning a perpetual lamp to god Kurmēśvara. Another¹⁴⁹ dated Ś. 1073 states that that year corresponds to the 5th regnal year of the king and so his rule would commence in Ś. 1069 or A. D. 1147. The king is also called Rāja Rāja Dēvara. He is also styled as Jaṭēśvaradēvara. No. 1044 (S. I. I. Vol. V) records that Ś. 1070 is the 3rd regnal year of Jaṭēśvaradēva. No. 1147 (S. I. I. Vol. V) states that Anantavarma's 3rd regnal or *anka* year which is equal to his 2nd actual ruling year corresponds to Ś. 1070. From this we learn that his accession took place in Ś. 1069. The inscription records that Sūrāma, a daughter of Vidyāpati Pandit made a gift of 5 Māḍas for a lamp for God Aniyanka Bhīmēśvara.

144. No. 1194, S.I.I. Vol. VI.

145. No. 1018, S.I.I. Vol. V.

146. No. 1333, in S.I.I., Vol. V.

147. No. 1325 Ibid.

148. No. 1332 Ibid.

149. No. 1174 in S.I.I. Vol. VI.

An inscription¹⁵⁰ states that the king's wife made a gift of land for burning a perpetual lamp to God Madhukēśvara. Two inscriptions¹⁵¹ state that in the reign of Anantavarma Chōdagaṅga, two Sāhinis or military officers of the king made gifts for the merit of Kāmārṇava, the Crown-prince. Almost all the inscriptions of the reign denote gifts of land or cash or both or goats or she-buffalos made for burning a perpetual lamp in the Vishṇu temples at Srikurmam and Simhachelam, either by the royal members or officials. The dates refer to the prosperous and victorious regnal years of the king.¹⁵² Since his rule began in Ś. 1069 or A.D. 1147 and since he is said to have enjoyed the earth for 10 years, his reign must have closed in A.D. 1156. Before his actual accession in A.D. 1147, he was in charge of the rule under his father's guidance. His titles show that he had a victorious reign, having put down all his enemies.

The Kēndupaṭṇa Plates state that Kāmārṇava was a brave and charitable king whose glorious deeds made him world-famous. After defeating his enemies and gaining wealth and lands, he performed the *Tulābhāram* ceremony by which he weighed himself against gold and distributed it to his courtiers. His subjects were happy and strong and several learned Pandits lived at his court. Probably, on account of his dying childless, he was succeeded by his half-brother Rāghava.

2. Rāghava A.D. 1156 – 1170.

Though both late Messrs. M. M. Chakravarti and R. D. Banerji had stated that Rāghava is not known from any inscriptions, in my work *Kalingadeśacharitra* published early in 1931, I mentioned that he is known to us from several important inscriptions found in Sreekurmam temple. One inscription¹⁵³ states that Ś. 1091 is equal to the 17th victorious regnal year of the illustrious Anantavarma who is also styled "*Devidāsa Raṇaranga Rāghava Chakravarti*". Since the C. P. Grants of the

150. No. 1047 in S.I.I. Vol. V.

151. Nos. 1063 and 1067 Ibid.

152. Late R. D. Banerji in his *History of Orissa Vol. I* p. 253 doubted unnecessarily whether the dates are regnal years or anka years. The several votive inscriptions state clearly that the dates refer to "the prosperous and victorious regnal years". But it should be understood that from this period the regnal years are the same as the anka years and not the actual ruling years.

He could not also state definitely in what year the accession took place though, from the inscriptions, it is clear that it happened in Ś. 1069 or A.D. 1147. As stated in the Copper-Plate charters of Narasimha II and IV his *abhisheka* or anointment took place in Ś. 1064, and as stated in his stone inscriptions, his accession to power took place in Ś. 1069 though his father lived till Ś. 1072 which was said to be his 75th regnal year.

153 No. 1330 in S.I.I. Vol V,

second and the fourth Narasimhadeva give him a rule of 15 years only and since we have fixed, with the help of inscriptions the closing year of Kāmārnava's rule and the first year of Rāghava's rule to be 1156 A.D. we have to take the 17th regnal year to be the *anka* year.¹⁵⁴ Now, by deducting 1st, 6th and 16th years from the number, we get the *actual* year of his rule to be 14 and since this year corresponds to Ś. 1091, the first ruling year of the reign will be Ś. 1078 or A.D. 1156. Another¹⁵⁵ states that Ś. 1092 is equal to his regnal year 18 or actual year of rule 15 and gives the same titles. As no inscription beyond this 15th year of actual rule is found and as it is the total period for him mentioned in the C.P. charters we take that his rule came to an end in Ś. 1092 or A.D. 1170.

Two inscriptions¹⁵⁶ dated Ś. 1084 and belonging to the 6th actual year of rule mention that grants of 5 *mādas* were made by private persons for burning a perpetual lamp to God ŚrīKūrmēśvara on the occasion of a solar eclipse for the good luck of their parents. Another¹⁵⁷ dated S. 1089 mentions a similar gift.

From the Kenḍupatna Plates,¹⁵⁸ we learn that Chōḍagaṅga had by a Queen named Indira, the daughter of a king of the solar dynasty who was noted for her supernatural beauty, a son called Rāghava who put down all the enemies and who was "looked upon by all the wielders of the bow as their only model". He is compared to Arjuna and Paraśu Rama for his brave deeds and styled "the Crest-Jewel of the Sovereigns of the Earth."

After a glorious rule of 15 years he too died childless and hence the throne passed to the two sons of Chandralēkha, another Queen of Chōḍagaṅga, namely Rāja Rāja II and Aniyanka or Ananga Bhimadeva.

3. Rāja Rāja II A.D. 1170—1194.

The Kenḍupatna Plates state that Rāja Rāja was the son of Chandra-lēkha, the favourite wife of Chōḍagaṅga who was "as a bulbous root to

154. The *anka* year is peculiar to Utkala and the Ganga kings from this period adopted it. It begins on *Suniya day* (*Simha Sukla Dvādasi*) in the month of *Bhādrapada*. Its features are that 1, and all figures ending in 0 and 6 (except 10) are omitted in counting and the last *anka* year of one king and the first of his successor fall in the same year. Some believe that the *anka* system of reckoning was devised to prolong the period of the rule of a king. Others believe that the figures left off are so done because they are not auspicious. When a king dies in the middle of an *anka* year, his successor's second *anka* year or first actual year of rule, which begins on his accession to the throne, does not run its full course of an year but ends on the following *Bhādrapada Sukla Dvādasi day*.

155. No. 1331 in S.I.I. Vol. V.

156. Nos. 1336 and 1340 *Ibid*.

157. No. 1341 *Ibid*.

158. J. As. Soc. Beng. Vol. LXV, pt I. p. 263.

the creeper-like extension of the king's dynasty." He seems to have set out on several expeditions to subdue his enemies who are not however specified. He was brave and famous and his title Rāja Rāja shows that he was king of kings. His thunderbolt-like hands were always busy in wielding his victorious bow. *He died after a glorious rule of 25 years* and probably because he was childless, his younger brother Aniyanka Bhima succeeded to the throne.

Though both the Puri and Kendupatna C. P. Charters have given a reign of 25 years to him, the late M. M. Chakravarty has given him only 21 years¹⁵⁹ by taking the years to be *anka* and by thinking that Ś. 1112 was the last year of Rāja Rāja's reign. We now know from this king's inscription¹⁶⁰ found in the Mukhalingam temple that he still lived and ruled in S. 1114 which was his 27th regnal or *anka* year. I cannot agree with the view of the late M. M. Chakravarty that the years of the C. P. charters also are *anka* years.

They are certainly actual years of rule. Only the years found in the stone inscriptions of the Gaṅga kings from after the time of Ananta-varma Chōḍagaṅga appear to be *anka*. Sometimes, the word *anka śrāhi* is found in some of the later inscriptions but generally the phrase *Vijayarāja Samvatsara* alone is found. Since the inscription (No. 1142) states that the Śaka year 1114 corresponds to his 27 *anka* year or 22nd actual year, we must hold that his rule extended beyond 21 years. He must have ruled fully for 25 years, as stated in all the C.P. Charters.

Five inscriptions relating to his reign are found in the Mukhalingam temple and two in the Srī Kūrmam temple. He is styled in all of them as Anantavarmadēvara.

A Mukhalingam inscription¹⁶¹ dated Ś. 1093 corresponds to the regnal or *anka* year 3 or actual year 2 and so the first year of rule would be Ś. 1092 or A. D. 1170. It states that, on the occasion of *Dakṣiṇāyana Samkranti*, a certain Kāmana, the *Puravari* of Nagarpuvāḍa, endowed God Aniyanka Bhīmēśvara with certain gifts of land. A Srīkūrmam inscription,¹⁶² dated Ś. 1096 and corresponding to the 4th *anka* or 3rd actual year of the king Anantavarma (by which name only he is mentioned in all the inscriptions) states that a certain Pṛthvimahādēvi, second wife of Chamdradharadeva, made a gift of 10 Surabhi *Māḍas* (coins) for the burning of two lamps for ever in the temple of Srī Kūrmēśvara. A Mukhalingam inscription¹⁶³ dated Ś. 1097 and

159. J. As. Soc. Beng. Vol. LXXII, pp. 114 and 141.

160. No. 1142 in S. I, I. Vol. V.

161. No. 1143 S.I.I. Vol. V.

162. No. 1270 *Ibid*.

163. No. 1113 *Ibid*.

corresponding to the 8th *anka* or 6th actual ruling year of the king states that a certain Gaṇapati *peggaḍa* of Simhapura endowed in the name of his parents 5 *Māḍas* by burning a perpetual lamp before Śrī Madhukēśvara¹⁶⁴ and set apart certain lands in Nagara village for the same. A Śrī Karmam inscription¹⁶⁴ dated Ś. 1104 and corresponding to the 14th *anka* or 12th actual ruling year of the king states that a certain Māmkama Nāyaka¹⁶⁵ endowed Śrī Kūrmēśvara with 5 *Māḍas*. A Mukhalingam inscription¹⁶⁵ dated Ś. 1107 of the king's reign records the endowment of 5 *Māḍas* to God Anyanka Bhīmēśvara by a lady called Duggama for the merit of her husband and son. Another¹⁶⁶ dated Ś. 1109 and corresponding to the 22nd *anka* or 18th actual ruling year of the king, states that, on the occasion of *Uttarāyana Samkrānti* a certain Sūre¹⁶⁷*pradhāni's* (Minister's) younger brother named Purushōttama Maṇḍalika (Governor) endowed a perpetual lamp to God Madhukēśvara of Nagaram and gave certain lands lying to the north of the temple to support the same for ever. Another¹⁶⁷ dated Ś. 1114 and corresponding to the king's 27th *anka* or 22nd ruling year states that, on the occasion of *Uttarāyana Samkrānti*, a certain Sure¹⁶⁸*pradhāni* (Minister) endowed one perpetual lamp and certain lands in the village (500 *Guṇṭas* and one *Puṭṭi* of land) to support the same for God Aniyamka Bhīmēśvara of Nagaram.

This last inscription is particularly important as it throws light on the economic position and habits of the people of the time. It was usual to endow lamps for the merit of people (present or past) and to support the same with gifts of *Māḍas* (coins) or *Guṇṭas* and *Puṭṭis* (Measures of land). Generally, the executors of the grants are also named and curses are mentioned in case any harm is intended by anyone for these perpetual gifts made by them. The inscriptions reveal the names of two brothers of whom one was Minister Sure *pradhāni* and one was Governor Purushottama *maṇḍalika*. Similarly, the Mēghēśvara inscription at Bhuvanēśvaram¹⁶⁸ states that the king married Surama, a sister of Svapnēśvara¹⁶⁹ who built the Mēghēśvara temple and who was probably employed by the king as the Governor of the region. The inscription is important in as much as it reveals the fact that the king who passed the middle age when he came to the throne and who had no sons of his own installed his younger brother Aniyanka Bhīma on the throne to help him in his old age in governing the Empire. It is for this reason probably that certain inscriptions of Anyanka Bhīma are found to belong to Rāja Rāja's reign. This has made late M. M. Chakravarti state wrongly that Rāja Rāja's last year would be S. 1112.¹⁶⁹

164. No. 1329 *Ibid.*165. No. 1185 *Ibid.*166. No. 1046 *Ibid.*167. No. 1142 *Ibid.*

168. Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, pp. 192—203.

169. J. As. Soc. Beng. LXXII, part I, p. 114.

A. *Aniyanka Bhīma or Ananga Bhīma. A.D. 1190—1198.*

The Puri and Keṇḍupatna C. P. Grants state that he ruled for 10 years. The Mēghēśvara Inscription states that, even during the time of his elder brother Rāja Rāja, he was installed as ruler owing to the former's old age. Two inscriptions found in the Temple of Kṛttivāsa at Bhuvanēśvara state¹⁷⁰ that his 4th *anka* or 3rd ruling year corresponds to Ś. 1114 or in other words, his rule began in Ś. 1112 or A.D. 1190. The Mēghēśvara inscription states that Rāja Rāja's brother-in-law Svappēśvara built the temple of Mēghēśvara during his reign, i.e., between Ś. 1115 and 1120 or A.D. 1193 and 1198.

From two inscriptions of his son Rāja Rāja III found in the Srikūrmam Temple¹⁷¹ we learn that the first ruling year of Rāja Rāja's reign fell in Ś. 1120 or A.D. 1198 and so we have to think that the last year of Ananga Bhīma fell in Ś. 1120 or A.D. 1198. To sum up, he ruled from Ś. 1112 or A. D. 1190 to Ś. 1120 or A.D. 1198, i.e. for 9 years. The Chāṭēśvara inscription¹⁷² states that the king had a Brahmin Minister called Gōvinda who built the Chāṭēśvara Temple. The Puri and Keṇḍupatna Plates state that "the king was competent in work and a lover of good poetry. He was pure in religion, free from any impurity of the Kali age and his eulogy surpassed those of his ancestors." He was a great warrior and won in many battles of wild elephants and subdued his enemies and got the name of Rāja Rāja. His fame spread in all directions. He ruled for 10 years and was succeeded by his son, Rāja Rāja III. He was the last son of Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅga to rule and the first and only son to be succeeded by a son of his own. From his time onwards, there were regular lineal descendants till the end of the dynasty. "The valiant king Ananga Bhīma was of unrestrained power and was the family abode of the goddess of *Dandī-nti*. (Administration of Justice). His conduct was most elegant, being purified by truthfulness, right observances and correct judgement and the sole object of his life was virtue.¹⁷³ His *Paṭṭamahisī* or Queen Consort was Bhāgalladēvi whose son Rāja Rāja III came to the throne in his youth.

170 J. As. Soc. Beng. LXXII, part I, p. 115.

171. Nos. 1278 and 1317, S.I.I. Vol. V.

172, J. As. Soc. Beng. Vol. LXVII, pp. 320-321.

173, J. As. Soc. Beng. LXV, pt. I, p. 265,

REVIEWS.

(1) TOLKAPPIAM (PORULATIKARAM). Fasc. I. Price As. 12.

BY R. Vasudeva Sarma, M.A., B.L., . -

This seems to be the oldest rhetorical work in the world, done into English for the first time, with exhaustive comments and illustrations. It was written by St. Trina, the disciple of Agastya, the first grammarian of the Tamils and divided into 3 sections, viz., Orthography, Etymology and Rhetoric. The last is said to contain interesting accounts of the civilisation of the Tamils. The origin of races, the history of marriage and the objects of human existence, Love and Life are all dealt with in great detail. The translation is done on a scientific basis and the explanations are correct, clear and instructive. We wish that every one should have a copy of it.

R.S.R.

(2) INDIAN WOMEN AND ART IN LIFE.

BY K. H. Vakil B.A. LL.B. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co.

This is again another interesting work of K. H. Vakil whose book *Rock-cut Temples around Bombay* was reviewed by us in the last part. The 6 illustrations—Melody of Peace, The Swing-Hindola, Bhakta Haridas, Fighting Elephants, Poverty, and Yavvana-Nrtya-Menaka—are well brought out. In the Introduction, the author stresses on the two-fold aspect of Art, that it recalls the fact that education is or ought to be based on the human and social daily vocation and that it illustrates the truth that art, education and culture should direct the collective life and needs of the people. The author feels that it is modern women's duty to devote their attention to the solution of the two-fold problem and to revive it "to a positive phase of vitality and growth". "Art intimate with the real life" ought to be the goal. Indian women should be educated in Art intimate with life and dancing, music, painting and allied arts should not be merely technical. The author pleads for inter-provincial exchange of ideas on art, historic research and culture so as to lead for national advancement.

R.S.R.

(3) THE INDO-SUMERO-SEMITIC-HITTITE PROBLEMS, Part 1.

BY R. S. Vaidyanatha Ayyar B.A.

The author has already published '*The Sumerian Origin of Manu's Land and Trade Laws*' in 1927 and the present work is based on the recent archaeological discoveries. The first part of the booklet is devoted to the examination of the study of Sumerian, Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions and seals by foreign scholars and the light it throws on the Asiatic civilisation in the ancient period and the second part to the original abode, habits and life of the Sumerians before 4000 B.C. and their resemblances to the Dravidian civilisation. The author states that "the Sumerians were only a branch of the Dravidians that migrated from India towards the West in the 6th millennium B. C. and that their culture, language and civilisation were essentially Dravidian." The author gives an account of the Hittites and their relation to the Aryans and states that "the Indus civilisation (hitherto called Indo-Sumerian) formed part and parcel of the wide-flung chalcolithic culture of Asia and Europe which expanded from the Adriatic Sea to Japan but which was focussed primarily in the Greater Valleys of the south of the Nile, the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Karun, the Helmund and the Indus." In conclusion, he quotes Sir John Marshall's conclusions to the effect that Sumerians of 6th millennium B. C. are to be identified with the Dravidians of India and the Hittites (Khatis) of Asia Minor with the Kshatriyas (Indo-Aryans) of India and finally appeals to the several Indian Universities "to take the lead in the matter, to mobilize their small scattered army of experts in History and Archaeology, to provide facilities and funds for them to carry on scientific explorations and thus enable them to do really useful historical research work."

We agree wholeheartedly with all the views of the author and request earnestly the Andhra University to pay particular and early attention to the fervent appeal of the author in the concluding part of his work.

R.S.R.

(4) THE CORONATION ORIENTAL RESEARCH SOCIETY SERIES.

1. *Manadēśa Charitramu—Svakyādhāramulu*, 2. *Ancient Indian Tribes—Part 1, The Bhutas*. 3. *Chronology of Vedic Authors*.

These three booklets, the first two by S. P. L. Narasimhaswami and the third by S. P. V. Ramanujaswami, B.A. were published by the C. O. R. Society, Visagapatam, now extinct. The first booklet discusses the value of Purāṇas, Vēdas, Inscriptions and Antiquities for the History of our

country. The second contains a detailed history of several mythological stories found in the Puranas. The significance of Bhutas, Asuras, Devas etc. is well explained. They are stated to be three distinct tribes living in India, the Bhutas being identified with the Mundas, the Asuras with the Dravidians and the Devas with the Aryans. The anthropological study of these three tribes is really instructive and interesting. The third contains an account of the origin and nature of Vedic hymns and the chronology of Vedic Authors. The geneological tables of the nine families of Vedic authors are given at the end of the work.

R.S.R.

(5) JAGANMĀTA.

BY Aravinda Ghosh.

Published in Telugu by Duvury Ramakrishna Rao B.A.

It is a work on Yōgaśāstra dealing with Iswaraśakti and the principles of life to be observed by people such as Truth, Devotion, Charity etc. so that Divinity may be attained.

R.S.R.

(6) TANJĀPURĀMDHRA NĀYAKARĀJA CHARITRAM.

BY K. Seetaramayya M.A. Curator, Tanjore Palace Library.

Price Rs. 2.

The work is the result of the author's lectures delivered under the auspices of the Andhra University. The author discusses the sources for the subject and states how the Vizianagaram Empire fell at the hands of the Muhammadans and how the Tanjore Principality then rose into power in the ancient Chola Maṇḍalam. The author next describes the rule of Chevappa Nāyaka (1535-61), Achyuta Nāyaka (1561-1614), Raghunatha Nāyaka (1614-33) and Vijaya Raghunātha (1633-73), over Tanjore and their contributions to history. The work contains 5 maps and 22 illustrations. The work has a foreword from the pen of Mr. K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu who published it. The get up is excellent.

R.S.R.

(7) THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY TAMILS.

BY K. N. Siva Raja Pillai, B.A. Senior Lecturer in Tamil,

University of Madras. Price Rs. 5.

The work is based on the Synchronistic Tables of Tamil kings, chieftains and poets appearing in the Sangam Literature. The author has

rightly nerved himself to the work of testing whether the Early Tamil Poems can be made to yield the secrets of their Chronology. The work is divided into four parts of which the first is devoted to the valuation of Sangam Literature, the second to the Synchronistic Tables and their ten generations, the third to the probable date of them and the fourth to the Results. 15 Appendices and 9 geneological Tables enhance the value of the work. The get up is good and we congratulate the author for his highly useful and excellent work.

R.S.R.

(8) **BUDDHIST REMAINS IN ANDHRA AND ANDHRA HISTORY,**
BY Mr. K. R. Subramanian M.A. Vizianagaram.

This is the third of the Andhra University series. There are very few books in English on the History of the Andhra Country. The author covers in this work many interesting but disputed problems in the early history of the Andhra country. The chapters on the Buddhist Remains in Andhra and the Amaravati marbles reveal many interesting and important facts. The author discusses the various views regarding the origin, geneology and chronology of the Pallavas and concludes that they are an Andhra dynasty. The chapters on the Brihatpalāyanas, Śālankāyanas and Vishnukundins are up to date and sufficiently discussive. The two chapters on "Andhra culture abroad" and "Administration" towards the end, enhance the value of the work and serve as incentives to further research.

It is now the fashion and policy of Indian Universities and other learned bodies to reconstruct the Local and Provincial histories with a view to facilitate the compilation of a more complete and up to date general history of India. We wish to draw the attention of the Andhra University to this fact with the hope that it would fall in a line with sister institutions. We hope that the University would soon engage a number of scholars to bring out special monographs on the different epochs of Andhra History and thereby pave the way for the construction of a fuller Local History.

M.R.R.

(9) **THE GAMGA—Special Archaeological number.**

This is a welcome addition to the Hindi Literature. The book opens with half a dozen papers on the History of Indological Research by eminent scholars like Dr. S. K. Iyengar, Professors P. Sreenivasacharis and B. Motichand. The two papers on the Indus Valley civilisation by Dr. N. N. Law and Laksman Sarup are very interesting. This book contains

many learned disquisitions on Ancient Indian Art and Architecture, Paleography, Chronology, Iconography, Epigraphy, Buddhism etc. besides articles on matters of general interest. The work is profusely illustrated. We commend this volume to the Andhra world in particular, with the hope that it will inspire them to bring out such useful books in the Telugu Literature too.

M.R.R.

(10) ŚAMANICHAYA ŚARMĀ CHARITAMU.

This small booklet of 22 pages, narrates how, according to the benediction of Śamanichaya, Sri Vikramadeva Varma became the Mahārājah of Jeypore.

M.R.R.

(11) SREE VIJAYA LAKSHMĪ VILĀSAMU.

BY Kavi Sārvabhauma Sripada Krishnamurty Sastri.

Written in the old *prabandha* style, this book of six *ullāsas* describes the incident of the accession of Maharaja Sri Vikramadeva Varma to the *gadi* of Jeypore

M.R.R.

(12) ANDHRA VIJNĀNA SARVASWAMU, MADRAS.

This a sample page of the first volume of the work which was started by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, twenty years ago. The publisher expects to complete the work in 25 volumes, of which the first is ready for sale. This work would supply a long felt want in the Andhra world and we wish god—speed to the enterprise.

M.R.R.

(13) NANDAKUMĀRAVADHA & CHAIT SINGH.

This book is the second of the publications of the Kavitā Samiti and is issued under the authorship of Mr. M. Sanjiva Rao. The author brings to bear lucidity of expression and clearness of thought on the highly dramatic incidents in the administration of Warren Hastings and makes those two tragic heroes live their lives once again before the mind of the reader. Publications of this sort are most needed in the Telugu language and we welcome this attempt with the hope that it will soon be followed by others.

M.R.R.

(14) MUDRĀ RĀKSHASAMU.

BY Mr. Palepu Venkata Surya Gopalam.

The work is yet another translation of the famous drama of Viśākhadatta, into Telugu. The Sanskrit version is also given in the book. The style of the author is free and brilliant and has a charm about it, which is rare among translators.

M.R.R.

(15) REDDIKULA NIRŪNAYA CHAMDRĪKA.

BY Messrs. Seshadri Ramana Kavulu and others. Prefaced

by Kavya Kanṭha Ganapati Sastri Garu.

The book is an attempt to vindicate the *khatriyatwa* of the modern Reddis. The authors draw their inspiration from the Puranas, Dharmaśāstras, Inscriptions and Literature. Two figures on a gateway at Palakol are reproduced as those of Reddis, with *yajñōpavītas*. The burden of the song seems to be that even in the Kali Age there are Khatriyas, that they neglected their duties and Samskāras for some reason or other and thereby became fallen (*patitas*), and merged into the fourth caste, came to be known as Reddis and that by resuming the functions and duties of the ancient Khatriyas, they can once again recover their *khatriyatwa*. Much reliance has been placed on the usual mention of the Lunar and Solar dynasties in inscriptions and the equally ordinary matrimonial relations between some of the ancient dynasties of South India and the opinions of some *Pandits* are also collated. The book incidentally gives much valuable food for reflection.

M.R.R.

(16) SĀMBŌPĀKHYĀNAM. Price Re. 1.

We are glad to announce that the Telugu Academy has recently published this work as No. 1 of the Pydah Venkatachalapati Manuscript Print Fund Series and copies thereof are available in the Telugu Academy office, Cocanada.

R.S.R.

(17) PRĀNĀYĀMA.

It is compiled by Balkrishna, Editor of the *Yoga mimamsa* of Borivli. It is a good practical guide to any student of *yōga*. It is supplemented by additional articles, appendices and glossary. It shows a good combination of traditional yogic teachings with accurate laboratory experiments.

R.S.R.

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Part 4.

THE DIVYAS.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A.

In the Polamūru grant, edited by Mr. R. Subba Rao M.A., L.T. in Vol. VI, pp. 17-24 of the journal, the Visnukunḍin king, Mādhavarman, son of Govindavarman, has been called *avasita-vividha-divya* (line 8). This passage has been left out in the translation of Mr. Subba Rao. The passage, however, appears to me very important in connection with the administration of justice in the Andhra country at the time of the Viṣṇukunḍins. Here is a clear evidence of the prevalence of the system of trial by ordeals in the Viṣṇukunḍin kingdom. The word *divya*, here, certainly means "ordeal" and *vividha-divya*, "various (forms of) ordeals." The verb *ava-so* has, among others, the meanings, "to accomplish", to know and "to destroy". The passage *avasita-vividha-divya* may, therefore, mean one, "who has accomplished the various (forms of) ordeals," or "who knows (how to use) the various (forms of) ordeals," or "who has destroyed (i.e. abolished) the various (forms of) ordeals". In my forthcoming work on Andhra history (in the press), I am showing that this Mādhavarman Viṣṇukunḍin, performer of eleven *aśvamedhas* and thousand *kratus* (*agniśtomas*), was one of the most orthodox Hindu kings of ancient India: it is, therefore doubtful whether we can expect from him such a great reform as the abolition of the deep-rooted system of trial by ordeals, which is sanctioned by ancient law-givers and which was in use in our country as late as the end of the 18th century A.D. and possibly still later. The last meaning is, therefore, less probable.

The prevalence of the system of trial by ordeals in ancient Indian courts is amply attested to by the *Smṛiti* literature. The subject has

been fully discussed in the *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya, II, verses 95-113, and in the Sanscrit Lexicon, *Śabdakalpadrūma* (Calcutta) under the word *parikṣa*. We also refer our readers to a very interesting paper "On the Trial by Ordeal among the Hindus, by Āli Ibrāhim Khān, Chief Magistrate of Benares, communicated by Warren Hastings Esq." in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I. pp. 389-404.

In view of the fact that the law-givers lived in different ages and in different parts of this vast country, we cannot expect unanimity in their views regarding trial by ordeal. It is interesting to note that the word *divya* originally meant an "oath", that is a form of invoking the Supreme Being to prove the truth of an allegation, but later it was generally understood to mean trial by ordeal," that is, a form of appealing to the direct interposition of divine power. In connection with the development of the system of trial by ordeals, it is also interesting to note that while the system is unknown to the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya, it sprouted at the time of the codes of Manu and Yājñavalkya and has fully grown at that of the *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara and the *Divyatatva* of Bṛihaspati. According to Kauṭilya, "Self-assertion (*svayamvāda*) on the part of either of the litigant parties has been found faulty; examinationⁿ (*anuyoga*) honesty (*ārjava*), evidence (*hetu*) and oath (*śapatha*)—these alone enable a man to win his cause" (*Arthasāstra*, II. i). It appears that the system of trial by ordeal did not develop at the time of Kauṭilya, a fact which possibly goes to show that Kauṭilya cannot be placed—as has been done by some scholars—in the 3rd century A. D., and after Yājñavalkya.

The simple *Śapatha* of the *Arthasāstra* is seen much developed at the time of the *Manusamhitā*. According to Manu, a Brāhmin—in order to ascertain the truth of his statement—should be made to swear by a declaration of truth, a kṣatriya by his *vāhana* (horse, elephant etc.) and weapons, a Vaiśya by his cattle, seed-corn and gold, and a Śūdra by all sins. Alternatively, a Śūdra may be put to fire, drowned into water or made to touch separately the heads of his sons and wives and swear; in these cases, the man who is not burnt by fire, who is not quickly drowned by water and whose sons and wives (heads of whom were touched in swearing) do not fall ill within a short time,—is to be considered as true regarding his statement. (*Manusamhitā*, VIII verses 113—115). Manu, therefore, was acquainted with three forms of ordeals, the last form of which, however, seems to have ceased to be a legal *divya* in the age of the later law-givers.¹

1. This form of ordeal appears to have been largely used in Bengal. It can be faintly traced in the altercations of rustic girls of Bengal even at the present time.

In the age of the Code of Yājñavalkya, the system of trial by ordeals became more developed. According to this law-giver, "Balance, fire, water, poison and *kośa*— these are the ordeals used here for the proof of innocence, when the accusations are heavy and when the accuser offers to hazard a mulct (in case, he should fail): or, one party may be tried by ordeal if he likes, the other, then, must risk an amercement; but the trial may take place even without any wager if the crime committed be injurious to the king... ..Balance for women, children, old men, the blind, the lame, Brāhmaṇas and the sick; but for the Śūdra, fire, or water, or seven *yavas* of poison. Unless the loss of the accuser amounts to a thousand pieces of silver, the accused must not be tried by the spear-head, nor by poison, nor by balance; but if the offence be against the king or if the crime be heinous, he must acquit himself by one of these trials in all cases." (*Yājñavalkya-saṃhita*, II. verses 95-99.) Yājñavalkya, thus, appears to have known six forms of the ordeals.

The fully developed form of the system of trial by ordeals, however, can be found in the works of later writers on law, such as Bṛhaspati, Viṣṇanēśvara and others. According to Bṛhaspati, there are nine different forms of ordeals. They are:

Dhaṭo = gnir = udakaṇ = c = aiva viṣaṇ kośaś = ca pañcamāṇ |
 Śaṣṭhaṇ = ca taṇḍulāḥ proktaṇ saptamam tapta-māśakaṇ||
 Aṣṭamāṇ phālam = ity = uktaṇ navamāṇ dharmajam Smṛtaṇ||

I. *Dhaṭa-divya* or *tula-divya* i.e. ordeal by balance.

The beam having been previously adjusted, the cord fixed and the scales made perfectly even, the accused person and a Brahmin judge (*prāḍvivāka*) fast a whole day. Then, after the accused has been propitiated with *homa* and deities have been worshipped, the person is weighed. When he is taken out of the scale, the *prāḍvivāka* prostrates before the balance, pronounces some *mantras* from the *śāstras* and, having written the substance of the accusation on a *līpi-pitra*, binds it on the head of the accused. After reciting some more *mantras*, the judge puts the man again on the scale. If he weighs more than before, he is guilty, if less innocent and if exactly the same, he is held partially guilty. In case of doubt, the accused must be weighed again; but if any part of the balance—though well fixed—breaks down, it will be considered as proving his guilt. *Divyatatva* quoted in the *Śabdakalpādruma*, s. v., *tuḷā*.)

II. *Āgni-divya* i.e. ordeal by fire.

In performing the fire-ordeal, an excavation — nine cubits long, two spans broad and one span deep — is made in the ground, and filled with a fire of *pippala* wood. Into this fire, the accused person must

walk bare-footed: if his feet are unburnt he is innocent, otherwise guilty. (*As. Res.*)

III. *Jala-divya* i.e. ordeal by water. *

In the water-ordeal, the accused should be caused to stand in a depth of water sufficient to reach his navel; but care should be taken that no ravenous animal be in it and that it is not moved by much air. A Brahman is then directed to go into the water with a staff in his hand, and a soldier shoots three arrows on dry ground from a cane bow. A man is then despatched to bring the arrow that has been shot farthest, and, after he has taken it up, another man is also ordered to run from the edge of the water. At this moment, the person accused is ordered to grasp the foot or the staff of the Brahman, who stands by him in the water, and immediately to dive into it. He must remain under water till the two men, who were sent to fetch the arrows, return. If he raises his body or head above the surface of water before the arrows are brought back, his guilt is proved. (*Ib.*)

IV. *Viṣa-divya* i.e. ordeal by poison.

The poison-ordeal is performed in two different ways. (a) After the *homa* is performed and the accused person is bathed, $2\frac{1}{2}$ *ratis* or 7 *yavas* of *viṣanāga* (a poisonous root or of "*Sunc'hyā* that is, white arsenic") are mixed with 8 *māsīs* or 64 *ratis* of clarified butter, which the accused should take from the hands of a Brahman. If the poison is visibly effective, the man is condemned, if not, absolved.

(b) A hooded snake, called *nāga*, is thrown into an earthen pot into which is also dropped a ring, seal or coin. The accused person is then ordered to take it out with his hand. If the serpent does not bite him, he is proved innocent, otherwise, he is pronounced guilty. (*Ib.*)

V. *Kośa-divya* i.e. ordeal by "image-washed" water.

The *kośa-divya* is performed in the following way. The accused person is made to drink three draughts of water, into which images of the sun, the *Devī* and other deities have been washed for the purpose. If the man has any sickness or indisposition within 14 days after taking the draughts, his crime is considered to be proved (*Ib.*)

VI. *Taṇḍula-divya* or ordeal by rice (cf. *cālpaṛā* or "enchanted-rice (?)" of rural Bengal.)

The rice-ordeal is generally applied to persons suspected of theft. Some dry rice is weighed with the *Sālagrāma* or some *mantras* are recited over it, and the suspected persons are severally asked to chew a quantity of it. As soon as it is done, they are ordered to throw it on some leaves of the *peepul* tree or on some "*bhurja-patra*, or bark of a tree

from Nēpāl or Cashmīr". The man, from whose mouth, rice comes dry or stained with blood, is pronounced guilty and the rest innocent. (*Ib.*)

VII. *Tapta-māṣaka-divya* i.e. ordeal by the hot *māṣaka* coin.

In performing this ordeal, the appointed ground is cleared and rubbed with cowdung. The next day at sunrise, after the worship of Gaṇeśa and other deities is done, the *prādvivāka* having recited some *mantras* places a round pan of gold, silver, copper, iron or clay, with a diameter of 12 inches and depth of three inches, and throws into it "one *śer* or eighty *sicca* weight of clarified butter or oil of sesamum" ("20 *palas* of ghee and oil"—Pitāmaha). After this, a *māṣaka* coin is thrown into the pan or alternatively "a ring of gold, or silver, or iron is cleaned and cast into the oil" which some Brahmans proceed to heat. When the thing in the pan is very hot, they throw a fresh leaf of *peepul* or *bilva* into it; if the leaf is burnt, the thing is taken to be sufficiently hot. Then, after reciting a *mantra*, the *prādvivāka* orders the accused person to take the coin or ring out of the pan. If he can do this without his fingers being burnt or blistered, he is considered not guilty, otherwise guilty. (*Ib.*, See also Pitāmaha quoted in the *Mitākṣarā*.)

VIII. *Phāla-divya* i.e. ordeal by spear-head.

In performing the *phāla-divya*, the Brahmins, after due worship of Gaṇeśa, draw nine circles on the ground with cowdung at intervals of 12 inches; each circle should have 12 inches as diameter, except the ninth, which may be smaller or bigger than the rest. Then the *hōma* is performed, gods are worshipped and some *mantras* are recited. The accused person, then, performs ablutions and, wearing wet clothes and facing towards the east, stands in the first circle with his hands on his girdle. After this "the presiding Magistrate and the Pandits" order him to rub some unhusked rice between his palms, which they carefully inspect. If any scar of a former wound, mole or any other mark appears on his palms, they stain it with a dye, so that it may be distinguished from any new mark after trial. The accused is then ordered to hold both his hands open and close together. Having, then, put into his hands "seven leaves of the trembling tree, or *peepul*, seven of the *sami*, or *jēṇḍ*, seven blades of *darbhā* grass, a little barey moistened with curd and a few flowers, they fasten the leaves on his hands with seven threads of raw cotton." Some *mantras* are then recited by the Brahmins, who next write a statement of the case and the point in issue on a palmyra leaf together with the appointed *mantra*, and tie the leaf on the head of the accused person. They then heat an iron-ball or a spear-head, weighing about five pounds and throw it into water; they heat it again, and again cool it in the same way. The third time they heat the

iron till it is red-hot. Next, the Brahmins, after reciting some *mantras* take the red-hot iron with tongs and place it in the hands of the accused, who is standing in the first circle. He must, then, gradually step from circle to circle, his feet being constantly in one of them. After reaching the eighth circle he must throw the iron in the ninth to burn some grass, which must be left there for that purpose. He is thereafter ordered to rub some unhusked rice between both his hands; if on examination any mark of burning appears on either of the hands, he is considered guilty; if no such marks appear, his innocence is proved. (*As. Res.*)

IX. *Dharmaja* or *Dharmādharmā-divya* i.e. ordeal by (the images of)
Dharma and *Adharma*.

In performing the image ordeal (or Dharmādharmā ordeal) two processes may be followed. (a) An image, named *Dharma*, is made of silver and another, called *Adharma*, of clay or iron ("lead or iron"—*Pitāmaha*). Both of these images are thrown into a big earthen jar. If the accused can bring out the image of *Dharma* out of the jar after thrusting his hand into it he is considered innocent, but if he brings out the image of *Adharma*, he is condemned.

(b) An image is drawn on a piece of white cloth and another on a piece of black cloth. The first is called *Dharma*, the second *Adharma*. ("A *Dharma* in white and an *Adharma* in black are to be drawn either on *bhurja* or cloth."—*Pitāmaha*). These are severally rolled up in cowdung ("cowdung or clay"—*Pitāmaha*), and thrown into a large jar, without being ever seen by the accused. The accused is then ordered to bring out one of those rolls. If he brings out the figure on white cloth he is acquitted; if that on the black cloth, convicted. (*Ib.*; See also *Pitāmaha* quoted in *Mitakṣarā* on Yājñvalkya, II. 113)

Certain months and days are limited for the different species of ordeals; there are also other injunctions in the *Smṛiti* literature. But the law givers are not unanimous on these points. It will be straining the patience of our readers to notice these in detail. We therefore quote a passage from Āli Ibrāhīm Khān, where we find the tradition based on Vijñānēśvara's *Mitakṣarā* and followed in the Benares region at the end of the 18th century.

"Agrāhan, Paush, Māgh, P'hālgun, Srāvan, and B'hādr, for that of fire, Āswīn, Cārtic, Jaisth, and Āśadh, for that by water; Paush, Māgh and Phālgun for that by poison; and regularly there should be no water ordeal on the *Astami* or eighth; the *Cheturdaśī*, or fourteenth day of the new or full moon, in the intercalary month, in the month of B'hādr on Sanaischer, or Saturday; and on Mangal or Tuesday; but, whenever

the magistrate decides that there shall be an ordeal, the regular appointment of months and days need not be regarded."

"The *Mitācshera* contains also the following distinctions. In cases of theft or fraud to the amount of a hundred gold mohurs, the trial by poison is proper; if eighty mohurs be stolen, the suspected person may be tried by fire; if forty, by the balance; if from thirty to ten by the image-water; if two only, by rice."

As has been already noticed, differences in the views of different law-givers appear to us to be due to differences in their time and place. A few instances will possibly enable our readers to understand the point clearly.

(a) One of the most glaring instances of such differences may be seen in the views of Bṛihaspati on the eighth form of the nine *divyas* namely, the *phāla-divya*. According to Bṛihaspati, "A piece of iron, eight fingers in length, four fingers in breadth and weighing twelve *palas*, is called a *phāla*: when the *phāla* is red-hot (*agni-virṇa*), the thief (here, stealer of a cow is meant) must once lave it with his tongue; if (the tongue) is not burnt, he is held innocent; if otherwise, convicted." The passage : "*gc-caurasya pradātavyam tapta-phālāvaleham=iti smṛitir=iti maithilāḥ*" possibly goes to show that this form of the *phāla-divya* was very common in North Bihar. (See *Śabdakalpadruma*, S. V., *phālam*).

(b) A local variety of the third ordeal, viz., the *jala-divya* has been thus noticed by Ālī Ibrāhīm Khān: "In the villages near Benāres, it is the practice for the person, who is to be tried by this kind of ordeal, to stand in water up to his navel, and then holding the foot of a Brāhman to dive under it as long as a man can walk fifty paces very gently. If before the man has walked thus far, the accused rise above the water, he is condemned; if not, acquitted."

(c) Another glaring instance is in the question whether ordeals should be applied to women. According to Nārada women cannot be tried by ordeals—"*strīnāṇ=ca na bhaved=divyam*." But another law-giver, Sūlapāni, says that this prohibition refers to *divyas* other than the *tulā-divya*, and we have already seen that Yājñvalkyā prescribes trial by the balance-ordeal for women. There is also a view that in connection with a quarrel between a woman and a man, the former should undergo ordeals. (*Ib.*, S. V., *parīkṣā*).

The application of ordeals to women appears to be supported by the Ramayanic story of Sītā's undergoing the fire ordeal in order to prove that her chastity was not violated by Rāvana during her confinement in Laṅkā and also by some epigraphic references. Some records (e.g. *Ind. Ant.*, IXX. p. 248) say that Candaladēvi (Candrike or Candri-

kādēvi), wife of Lakṣmīdēva I (A. D. 1209?), the Raṭṭa king of Sandatti, "attained victory over a number of serpents in an earthen water-jar;" the allusion here is certainly to the queen's having undergone trial by the poison-ordeal. (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, pt. II, p. 556 and note 5).

From the last reference we see that the prevalence of the system of trial by ordeals is not only proved by the *smṛiti* literature, but can also be proved from references to the practice in inscriptions and other writings. For inscriptional references, we refer our readers to *Ep. Ind.*, XIII. p. 294, note 4; XV, p. 394; and *Bomb. Gaz.*, I. pt. II. pp. 556 & note 5; 571 & note 3. In conclusion we quote here three instances of trial by ordeals, one from an inscription and two from the paper of Āli Ibrāhim Khān, who claims to be an eye-witness of the trials.

(i) In the Kaliyuga year 4289 and the 15th year of the Goa Kadama king Vīra-Jayakēśidēva III "on Sunday the eighth day of the bright fortnight of Āṣhāḍha, in the presence of the fortunate prime-minister Īśvarārya Daṇḍanāyaka, Śivaśakti the Āchārya (priest) of the god Śrī-Kallēśvaradēva of the well called Attibāvi at Kittūr, and Kalyāṇaśakti, the Āchārya (priest) of the original local deity of that place (Mūlasthānadēva), opened a subject of dispute, the former asserting that a plot of ground in that place, called Ālakoḷanakeyi, had from of old belonged to Kallēśvaradēva, while the latter claimed it for the original local deity (Mūlasthana dēva).

"The agreement that they both of their own free will entered into in the presence of the same Īśvara Daṇḍanāyaka was this: Śivaśakti said, 'whereas this plot of ground Ālakoḷanakeyi, belonged of old to Kallēśvaradēva, Dēvarāśi, the father of Kalyāṇaśakti unauthorisedly brought it under cultivation under the Chanḍe State, and had a grant written in his own favour; and I am now prepared to undergo the ordeal of *phāla-divya* in support of my statement that it had belonged from ancient times to Kallēśvaradēva'; (on the other hand) the argument of Kalyāṇaśakti under an oath with the sacred symbols on his head, was, if the Chanḍe Saṁsthāna gave this plot of ground Ālakoḷanakeyi, to my father Dēvarāśi and to myself on behalf of the original local deity (Mūlasthānadēva), it has not been unauthorisedly brought under cultivation.'

"Īśvara Daṇḍanāyaka then said, 'Go both of you before the assemblage of the bankers of the village of Degāve, which has been granted in perpetuity to Brahmans; and on their asserting to this, on Sunday the seventh day of the dark fortnight of Āṣhāḍha in the same year, in the presence of all the bankers of the Agrahāra village Degāve and in front of the temple of Mallikārjunadēva of that place, Śivaśakti, undergoing the ordeal of *phāla-divya*, made oath that the piece of and, Ālakoḷanakeyi, belonged from of old to the god Kallēśvara of Attibāvi; while Kalyāṇaśakti taking the sacred symbols on his head (or

standing on his head!), declared that it was the property of the original local deity (Mūlasthānadēva). After this on Monday the eighth day of the same dark fortnight, all the bankers of the Agrahāra village Degāve having convened themselves in the assembly-hall and having examined the hand of Śivaśakti decided that he had won his cause, and that Kalyāṇaśakti, who had taken the sacred symbols on his head, had lost it, and that the plot of ground called Ālakoṭanakeyi belonged to the god Kallēśvara of Attibāvi and gave a certificate of success to Śivaśakti."

The Kittur pillar inscription, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, IX, pp. 307-9.

(ii) "In the year of the Messiah 1783, a man was tried, by the *hot-ball* at Benāres, in the presence of me, Āli Ibrāhim Khān, on the following occasion. A man had accused one Śancar of larceny, who pleaded that he was not guilty; and as the theft could not be proved by legal evidence the trial by fire-ordeal was tendered to the appellee, and accepted by him. This well-wisher to mankind advised the learned magistrates and Pandits, to prevent the decision of a question by a mode not conformable to the practice of the Company's Government, and recommended an oath by the water of the Ganges, and the leaves of the *tulasī* in a little vessel of brass (copper?) or by the book *Harivamsa*, or by the stone *Sāligṛām*, or by the hallowed ponds or basins, all which oaths are used in Benāres. When the parties obstinately refused to try the issue by any one of the modes recommended, and insisted on a trial by the *hot-ball*, the magistrates and Pandits of the court were ordered to gratify their wishes; and setting aside those forms of trial in which there could be only a distant fear of death, or loss of property, as the just punishment of perjury by the sure yet slow, judgment of heaven, to perform the ceremony of ordeal agreeably to the *Dharma Śāstra*: but it was not till after mature deliberation for four months that a regular mandate was issued for trial by the red-hot ball; and this was at length granted for four reasons: first, because there was no other way of condemning or absolving the person accused; secondly, because both parties were Hindus and this mode of trial was specially appointed in the *Dharma Śāstra* by the ancient law givers; thirdly, because this ordeal was practised in the dominions of the Hindu Rājās; and fourthly, because it might be useful to inquire how it was possible for the heat of fire to be resisted and for the hand that held it to avoid being burned. An order was accordingly sent to the Pandits of the court, and of Benāres, to this effect: "Since the parties accusing and accused are both Hindus and will not consent to any trial but that by the hot-ball let the ordeal desired be duly performed in the manner prescribed by the *Mitācsherā*, or commentary on Yājñavalkya."

When preparations were made for the trial, this well-wisher to mankind, attended by all the learned professors, by the officers of the court, the *sipāhis* of Captain Hogan's battalion, many inhabitants of Benāres, went to the place prepared, and endeavoured to dissuade the appellor from requiring the accused to be tried by fire, adding, "if his hand be not burned, you shall certainly be imprisoned." The accuser, not deterred by this menace, persisted in demanding the trial. The ceremony, therefore, was thus conducted in the presence of me, Āli Ibrāhim Khān.

The Pandits of the court and the city, having worshipped the god of knowledge, and presented their oblation of clarified butter to the fire, formed nine circles of cowdung on the ground; and, having bathed the appellee in the Ganges, brought him with his clothes wet; when, to remove all suspicion of deceit, they washed his hands with pure water: then, having written a statement of the case, and the words of the *mantra* on a palmyra leaf, they tied it on his head; and put into his hands, which they opened and joined together, seven leaves of *peepul*, seven of *jend*, seven blades of *dar'ha* grass, a few flowers and some barley moistened with curds, which they fastened with seven threads of raw white cotton. After this they made the iron ball red-hot and, taking it up with tongs placed it in his hands. He walked with it, step by step, the space of three *gaz* and a half, through each of the seven intermediate rings, and threw the ball into the ninth where it burnt the grass that had been left in it. He next, to prove his veracity, rubbed some rice in the husk between his hands; which were afterwards examined, and were so far from being burned that not even a blister was raised on either of them. Since it is the nature of fire to burn, the officers of the court, and people of Benāres, near five hundred of whom attended the ceremony, were astonished at the event; and this well-wisher to mankind was perfectly amazed. It occurred to his weak apprehension, that probably the fresh leaves, and other things, which, as it has been mentioned, were placed on the hands of the accused, had prevented their being burnt; besides that the time was but short between his taking the ball and throwing it down; yet it is positively declared in the *Dharma sāstra*, and in the written opinions of the most respectable Pandits, that the hand of a man who speaks truth cannot be burnt; and Āli Ibrāhim Khān certainly saw with his own eyes, as many others also saw with theirs, that the hands of the appellee in this cause were unhurt by the fire. He was consequently discharged. But, that men might in future be deterred from demanding the trial by ordeal, the appellor was committed for a week. After all, if such a trial could be seen once or twice by several intelligent men, acquainted with natural philosophy, they might

be able to assign the true reason why a man's hand may be burnt in some cases, and not in others.² *As. Res.*, Vol. I.

(iii) A Brāhmin, named Rishiswara Bhatta, accused one Rāmdayāl, a linen painter, of having stolen his goods. Rāmdayāl pleaded not guilty; and after much altercation, consented to be tried, as it had been proposed, by the *vessel of oil* (taptamāśaka-divya). This well-wisher to mankind advised the Pandits of the court to prevent, if possible, that mode of trial; but since the parties insisted on it, an ordeal of hot oil, according to the *śāstra*, was awarded for the same reasons which prevailed in regard to the trial by the ball. The Pandits who assisted at the ceremony were, Bhishma Bhatta, Nānāpāt'hac, Manirāma Pāt'haca, Manirāma Bhatta, Siva, Anantrāma Bhatta, Cripārāma, Vishnuheri, Crishnachandra, Rāmendra, Gōvindarāma, Hericrishna Bhatta, Cālidāśa; the three last were Pandits of the court. When Ganēśa had been worshipped, and the *homa* presented, according to the *śāstra*, they sent for this well-wisher to mankind, who attended by the two *Dārāghas* of the *Dēvānī* and *Faujdarī* courts, the *cotwāl* of the town, the other officers of the court, and most of the inhabitants of Benāres, went to the place of trial; where he laboured to dissuade Rāmdayāl and his father, from submitting to the ordeal; and apprised them that, if the hands of the accused should be burnt, he would be compelled to pay the value of the goods stolen, and his character would be disgraced in every company. Rāmdayāl would not desist: he thrust his

2. In connection with this remark, it may be interesting to note what Edwin Edser writes about the "Spheroidal State" in his *Heat for Advanced Students* (Macmillan & Co., 1923) (pp. 195—196).

"Expt. 52

"Expt. 53.... The above experiments illustrate what is termed the Spheroidal State of water. A laundress generally tests the temperature of her iron by observing whether it is sufficient to cause a drop of saliva to assume the Spheroidal State. Jugglers were formerly in the habit of plunging their hands into molten lead, their immunity from burning depending on the moisture on their hands assuming the Spheroidal State. Blacksmiths will often lick a bar of red-hot iron. In early times, a common form of ordeal was to walk on red-hot ploughshares. Many who came through this ordeal triumphantly must have ascribed to supernatural intervention an occurrence which was strictly in accordance with natural law.

"Water is not the only substance which can assume the spheroidal state. All liquids will do so if placed on a metal surface that is sufficiently hot. If a mixture of solid carbodic acid and ether is poured into a red-hot platinum crucible, it will assume the Spheroidal State. If mercury is poured on to the mixture, it will be frozen, though the platinum dish remains red-hot."

hand into the vessel, and was burned. The opinion of the Pandits was then taken; and they were unanimous that, by the burning of his hand, his guilt was established and he was bound to pay Rishiswara Bhatta the price of what he has stolen; but if the sum exceeded five hundred *ashrafis*, his hand must be cut off by an express law of the *sāstra*; and a mulct also must be imposed on him according to his circumstances.

The chief magistrate, therefore, caused Rāmdayāl to pay Rishiswara seven hundred rupees in return for the goods which had been stolen; but as amercements in such cases are usual in the courts of judicature at Benāres, the mulct was remitted, and the prisoner discharged.

The record of this conviction was transmitted to Calcutta in the year of the Messiah 1783; and in the month of April 1784, the Governor-General, Imādu'd-daūlah Jelādet Jang Behāder, having seen the preceding account of trials by ordeals, put many questions concerning the meaning of Sanscrit words, and the cases here reported; to which he received respectful answers..... (*ib.*)

THE SANGAMA DYNASTY.

VAJJALA NARASIMHAM, M.A., B.Ed.

On the death of Vijaya Bhūpati Dēvarāya I in 1422 A. D., Vijayaraya, his eldest son became the next king of Vijayanagar. The following inscription dated S.S. 1344, (1422 A.D.) which definitely mentions that Vijayarāya Māharāya was ruling the kingdom of Hastināvati (Vijayanagar) in peace and wisdom, appears to be his first inscription, issued in kingly dignity.

स्वास्ति समस्तभुवनाश्रय श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभ महाराजाधिराजराज परमेश्वर श्रीवीरप्रताप
द्वरायरकुमार विजयरायमहारायरु.....हस्तिनावीतिय नेल वीडिनोलु सुखसंकथाविनोद
दिं राज्यंगेयुत्तिरे ... शकवरुषं सु साविरदमुन्नुर नात्वत्तनाल्कर (1344) शुभकृतु
वेनिसिद संवत्सरदो काश्रीज शुद्धदपंचमि

(Epigraphia Carnatica Vol. 7. 93 Shikarpur Taluk. Page 175).

It is to be noted that the above is the first śāsana of Vijaya, bearing the imperial titles of *Rājādhirāja*, *Rājaparamēswara*, *Vīrapratāpa*, etc. During the reign of Dēvarāya I, Vijaya acted as Yuvaraja and issued inscriptions in that capacity under the name of 'Vira Harihara' which was probably his traditional name. Finding the inscriptions of Vijaya from 1412 A. D. onwards, Sewell and Rice guessed that he came to the throne in that year; but it is to be noted that Dēvarāya I ruled as late as 1422 A. D. as is already shown and all the śāsanas found prior to that year were grants of Vijaya, issued by virtue of his princely right.

On his accession to power, Vira Harihara assumed the title of Vijaya (Arjuna) or Victorious king. The following lines show that he was also famous as 'Vijaya Bukka', a name which he assumed probably in memory of the mighty deeds of his illustrious ancestor, Bukka I.

श्रीदेवरायो भव हूर्जित श्रीः ॥

अध जयंत इवामरनायकात् ।

गुणनिधे रूपलब्ध जनि

विजयबुक्कमहोपातिरुन्नतो

विजितशत्रु रभूद्विजयोपमः ॥

(Nellore Inscriptions Part I Page 353)

Nuniz says that 'Visaya' (for so he calls him) ruled for six years. Sewell accepts his version. Examined from the documentary evidence, it seems that Vijaya ruled for a short time and the few inscriptions connected with his reign cover only one year 1422-1423 A.D.

Devaraya II, the eldest of the sons of Vijaya Bhūpati, was a worthy son of the worthy father. In some respects, he eclipsed his father, and was undoubtedly the greatest and the most distinguished member of the Sangama dynasty. In the inscriptions and in the grants that belong to him, he is called by a number of more or less similar names, Praudha Dēvarāya, Praudharāya, Pratāpa Dēvarāya, Pratāparāya, Immadi Dēvarāya, Gajabenta Dēvarāya, etc.

(Vide E.C. Vol. 7 No. 240 Shikarpur Taluk.

„ „ „ No. 109 Nanjangud Taluk.

„ Nellore Inscriptions Part I Page 19 Part III Page 1122).

It is already shown that by the untiring and strenuous attempts of such mighty Sovereigns as Bukka I and Devaraya I, the city of Vijayanagara gradually expanded into a kingdom which ultimately developed into an Empire. By his military prowess and valour, Devaraya II extended the limits of the Empire and it is no exaggeration to say that he became the sovereign not only of the whole of South India but also ruled over some portions of the east coast of the Deccan. The inscriptions credit him with having defeated the Reddi rulers and the Padmanaicks who were forced to submission and payment of a fixed amount of tribute to the powerful Rāya of Vijayanagar. In the vast empire that he conquered, he appointed a number of Provincial Governors, some of them being his own brothers. Thus, during his time Srīgirinātha Udaiyar, a brother of Dēvarāya, ruled the kingdom which was situated in the modern North Arcot District (Epigraphical Report 1909). The Satyamangalam plates of Devaraya II also describe that the king was helped by his brother Pratāpadēva, just as Mahendra was helped by his younger brother Upendra. (Vishnu.)

प्रतापदेवरायेण प्रख्यातेनानुजन्मना । महेन्द्रस्यैवस्य श्री रुपेन्द्रेण प्रकाशते॥

(Epigraphia Indica Vol. 3, Satyamangalam Plates.) He seems to have held sway over the district or portion round Penukonda, perhaps as a viceroy of his brother, Devaraya II. (Vide Srīsailam Plates).

Almost all the accounts dealing with the history of the first dynasty say that the empire attained the acme of its power and glory under Devaraya II. The royal city attracted the attention of the world by its wealth, magnificence, population and extent, and from this time commenced the visits of a number of travellers, European and native, to the city. The accounts of Nicolo Conti and Abdur Razzak give us an illuminating picture of the splendours of the city in the first half of the fifteenth century.

The political events of the reign of Devaraya II are too well known to be mentioned here. There is some difficulty in ascertaining the exact date of his death. Nuniz observes that Devaraya II reigned for 25 years which Sewell accepts, and fixes between 1419-1444 A.D. But Nuniz who gathered information based on tradition about the year 1535 A.D. cannot be regarded to be accurate with regard to the dates concerning the history of the period. Dr. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar in his book 'A Little known chapter of Vijayanagar' refutes the version of Nuniz and says that 'Devaraya II died in all probability in A.D. 1448-49 and was succeeded by his son, Mallikārjuna in the same year; but he does not give any documentary evidence to support his point.

I take that Devaraya II died in the month Vaiśākha of the year Kshaya 1446 A.D., on the authority of the following inscription.

क्षयाह्वयकवत्सरे द्वितीययुक्तवैशाखके ।
 महीतनयवारके, युतवळक्षपक्षेते ।
 प्रतापनिधि देवराट् प्रलयमापहंतासमा ।
 चतुर्दश दिने कथं पितृयुतोनिवार्यगतिः ॥

(E. C. Vol. 2. No. 125 Page 123)

The year 'Kshaya' corresponds to 1446 A.D. It is questioned whether the 'Dēvarāt' referred to in the above inscription is identical with Devaraya II of Vijayanagar, and it is argued that the 'Dēvarāt' may have been only a prince of the blood, since royal titles are not given to the deceased, but the objection that the glowing attributes of the sovereign are not mentioned in the śāsana that describes his mournful death, seems to be unsound. It is a common feature of the Vijayanagar records that they do not contain the imperial titles of the kings in such cases where the lines are in verse form, and on this ground we may account for the omission of the titles of Dēvarāya in the above inscription. Moreover we have strong documentary evidences to prove that Mallikārjuna, his immediate son and successor, occupied the throne early in the year 1447 A.D. (E. C. Vol. 7. Shikarpur Taluq. No. 239). Therefore, it is not proper to reject the above record which records his death as taking place in 1446 A.D. on the flimsy ground that it does not include the imperial titles, and to guess some other year for his death without sufficient documentary evidence. In the absence of any other inscription indicating the year of his death in a manner more definite than the one that is quoted, we may safely assume that Devaraya II died in the year 1446 A.D.

Mallikarjuna
 1446-1465 A.D.

Sewell says that the period following the death of Devaraya II was a period of confusion in the history of Vijayanagar. "Devaraya II died early in 1444 A.D. There is still

however a difficulty, as inscriptions giving the name of Devaraya continue as late as 1449 A. D. It looks as though there had been a Devaraya III reigning from A. D. 1444—1449."

There is no need, however, to assume a Devaraya, III at all; for all these inscriptions bearing the name of 'Devaraya' after 1446 A.D., the year of Devaraya II's death, belong to Mallikarjuna, the next successor to the throne of Vijayanagar. Mallikarjuna was also known as 'Devaraya' or more specifically "Immadi Praudha (Pratāpa) Dēvarāya" because he was regarded twice as valiant as his father. The following inscription shows this clearly.

स्वस्ति समस्तप्रशस्तिसहित यादवकुंभपरम्पराभात संगमराय बुक्कराय हारिहराय
देवराय विजयराय गजबेण्टिकारप्रौढदेवराय महारायकुमाररु श्रीमान् महाराजाधिराज
राजपरमेश्वर अरिरायविभाडभाषिगे तत्पुवरायरगंड चतुरसमुद्राधिपति श्रीवीरप्रताप
इम्माडिप्रौढदेवरायराद मल्लिकार्जुनमहारायरु सुखसंकथाविनोददि पृथ्वीराज्यंगेयुत्तिरलु...

(E. C. Vol. 3 No. 89 Seringapatam Tq. Vide also Nos. 11 and 113).

In the Epigraphical Report of 1908, it is also noted that Mallikarjuna was called 'Immadi Praudha Devaraya'. Sewell seems to be unaware of this fact and so is led to the conclusion that a Devaraya III might have ruled between 1444-1449 A.D.

Not only Mallikarjuna but many other sovereigns of Vijayanagar had the practice of adding the names of either 'Harihara or Devaraya' as attributes to their names in memory of those mighty monarchs. The titles are also significant in that Hari means 'the protector of the world', Hara 'The Destroyer of enemies' while Devaraya is equal to 'Dēvendra'. This peculiar custom existed not only among the rulers of Vijayanagar but also among most of the Chalukyan kings who called themselves as 'Satyāśraya' and 'Vishnuvardhana'.

Moreover, the following inscription dated S. S. 1370 (A D. 1448) gives an indisputable proof that Mallikarjuna was the direct successor of Devaraya II and that the reign of no other king intervened between the reigns of Devaraya and his son, Mallikarjuna.

.....विजयरायमहमिहेन्द्रः । ततोजनि महाराजो देवराज इवापरः
देवरायोधराधिपः ... तेजोनिधे रजनि भूमिपते रमुष्मा । च्छ्री मल्लिकार्जुन इति प्रथितः
कुमारः । शैर्मादि मि गुणगणै रधिकस्त्र ताता । च्छंसंति यं नृपति मिम्माडिदेवरायं ॥
.....वियन्मुन्यभि चन्द्रैश्च गणिते शकवत्सरे ... (1370. S. S. 1448 A.D.)
विभवे* मार्गशीर्षस्य द्वादश्यां सितपक्षके

(Epigraphica Carnatica Vol. 3, No. II Seringapatam Tq.)

*In this inscription in place of 'Vibhave' there is the word 'Prabhava' which seems to be an error; for the saka year 1370 and the cyclic year dont agree. So it should be corrected as 'Vibhave'; then both the Cyclic and Saka years agree.

It is now therefore clear that there was no other sovereign between Dēvarāya II and Mallikārjuna, as supposed by Sewell, and that the latter was the direct successor of the former. With regard to the date of Mallikārjuna's accession to the throne, Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar says in his "A Little known chapter of Vijayanagar" that Mallikārjuna came to the throne in 1449 A.D. But this seems to be inaccurate as we have documentary evidences to show that Mallikārjuna ruled in 1447 A.D., immediately after the death of his father which took place in 1446 A.D., as is shown already. I quote here one out of the many inscriptions that prove his sovereignty prior to 1449 A.D.

स्वास्ति श्रीमत्तु राजाधिराजपरमेश्वर श्रीवीरप्रताप मल्लिकार्जुनमहाराय राज्याभ्युदय
शकवर्ष 1369 (1447 A.D.) ने प्रभवसंवत्सरद भाद्रपद

(E. C. Vol. 7. Shikarpur Tq. No. 239.)

So we may assume that Mallikārjuna immediately succeeded his father as king of Vijayanagar in 1446 A.D.

Little can be said about the events of the reign of Mallikārjuna. His accession to the throne marks the commencement of the decay of the Sangama Dynasty. So long as Dēvarāya II guided the ship of the state the neighbouring powers did not dare to enter into hostile relations with him but when he was followed by Mallikārjuna, the combined armies of the Bahamini sultan and the Gajapati ruler of Orissa marched against Vijayanagar. The date of this invasion may be placed roughly between 1446-1448 A.D.; for it is said that the enemies took advantage of the accession of a young man to the throne, with the fond hope of defeating him, but they were repulsed by Mallikārjuna who 'sallied forth from his capital, like a lion from his den and routed the armies after completely defeating them' as is shown by the Gangādāsapratāpavilāsam, a Sanskrit drama written by Gangādhara.¹

Like his predecessors Mallikārjuna seems to be a pious and devout monarch and made a large number of grants and endowments to God Mallikārjuna. He also granted special concessions to Brahmins and won popularity among his subjects by his benefactions. His reign closes with the year 1465 A.D. from which date we find inscriptions of his successor, Virūpāksha.

Before we take up the events in the reign of Virūpāksha, the last king of the Sangama Dynasty, his relationship to his predecessor Mallikārjuna has to be ascertained. Writers on the history of Vijayanagar

are unanimously of opinion that Virūpāksha was the son of Dēvarāya II and consequently the brother of Mallikārjuna. Sewell observes that 'two sons of Dēvarāya II according to inscriptions were named Mallikārjuna and Virūpāksha respectively.' Hultsch, Burnell, Rice and other European writers share the same view. Dr. Krishnaaswami Ayyangar, maintains that Virūpāksha was the son of Dēvarāya II and the brother of Mallikārjuna but a close examination of the few documents that are at our disposal, proves that Virūpāksha was not the son of Dēvarāya II, but the son of his brother, Pratāpa (Dēvarāya).

To explain the relationship of Virūpāksha with Mallikārjuna, it is necessary to see the order of succession from Vijayabhūpati. An inscription dated S.S. 1346 (1424 A.D) found in the village of Satyamangalam in the Vellore Taluq, describes the genealogy of the Sangama dynasty till Dēvarāya II and mentions a younger brother of his called Pratāpa Dēvarāya who appears to have held a high office, perhaps that of co-regent under his royal brother.²

The Epigraphical Report of 1909 also mentions that Dēvarāya II had a younger brother Pratāpa Dēvarāya who acted as a provincial viceroy under his brother. The next king of Vijayanagar, Mallikārjuna, was the eldest son of Dēvarāya II and his wife Ponnaladevi.³ It is already shown that he ruled from after the death of his father till 1465 A.D.

Mallikārjuna appears to have had two sons, Rājasēkhara and Virūpāksha respectively; but it is certain that neither of them became king of Vijayanagar after the death of their father. The inscriptions of this period show that another Virūpāksha seized the throne of Vijayanagar and the question at issue is the relationship of that Virūpāksha to Mallikārjuna.

It is shown by the Satyamangalam inscription quoted above that Dēvarāya II had a brother called Pratāpa Dēvarāya. The Srisailam Plates, quoted in the 'Sources of Vijayanagar history, describe that Vijayā had a son called Pratāpa Dēvarāya through Nārāyanadēvi. He seems to be undoubtedly the younger brother of Dēvarāya II and the same one referred to, in the Satyamangalam plates. According to the plates, Pratāpa Dēvarāya obtained Penukonda (Ghanādri) from his elder brother, Dēvarāya II and was so bounteous that he was called Janapārijāta. His wife was Siddhaladēvi and to her was born the celebrated Virūpāksha.⁴

2. Epigraphia Indica Vol. 3. Satyamangalam Plates.

3. E. C. Vol. 8. Seringapatam Tq. No. 11, page 29.

Sources of Vijayanagar History by Dr. Krishnaaswami Ayyangar pp. 69-70

Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar has slipped into an error in interpreting the above lines. He assumes that 'Pratāpa Dēvarāya' alluded to in the plate was Dēvarāya II and then interprets the words निजामजात्याप्त चत्वारिंशत् as meaning "Dēvarāya II had an elder brother whose name we do not know, who conquered the kingdom of Penukonda, from whom we do not know". Such an interpretation of the passage is not only irrational but also incorrect. None of the inscriptions available mentions the existence of an elder brother of Dēvarāya II, while many inscriptions prove that Dēvarāya II was the eldest son of Vijaya, and that he had a younger brother called Pratāpa Dēvarāya. On the other hand, if Dēvarāya II had possessed an elder brother, as Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar assumes, certainly then that elder brother must have come to the throne of Vijayanagar, to the exclusion of Dēvarāya II. In the second place, it is inconceivable to assume that such a mighty monarch as Dēvarāya II obtained a small place as Penukonda from a nameless and insignificant 'elder brother'.

Now the relationship of Virūpāksha to Mallikārjuna can be clearly drawn by the Srīsailam plate. Virūpāksha was neither the son of Dēvarāya II nor the direct brother of Mallikārjuna. He was the son of Pratāpa Dēvarāya who acted as Viceroy of Penukonda which was given to him by his elder brother Dēvarāya II. Moreover, the absence of any reference to Mallikārjuna who ruled after Dēvarāya II in the inscription is highly appropriate to an usurper like Virūpāksha who seized the throne of his ancestors (पित्र्यमिहासनं) by his own प्रताप (valour). The legal heir to the throne after the death of Mallikārjuna was his son Rājāsēkhara; but it seems that Virūpāksha got the throne, after conquering all his enemies at the point of the sword as can be inferred from lines 'खड्गामतः सर्वैरिषू विजित्य.....'. The date of his coronation was in the month of Kārtika of the year Pārthiva S. S. 1388 which corresponds to 1465 A. D. as can be inferred from the Srīsailam plates.

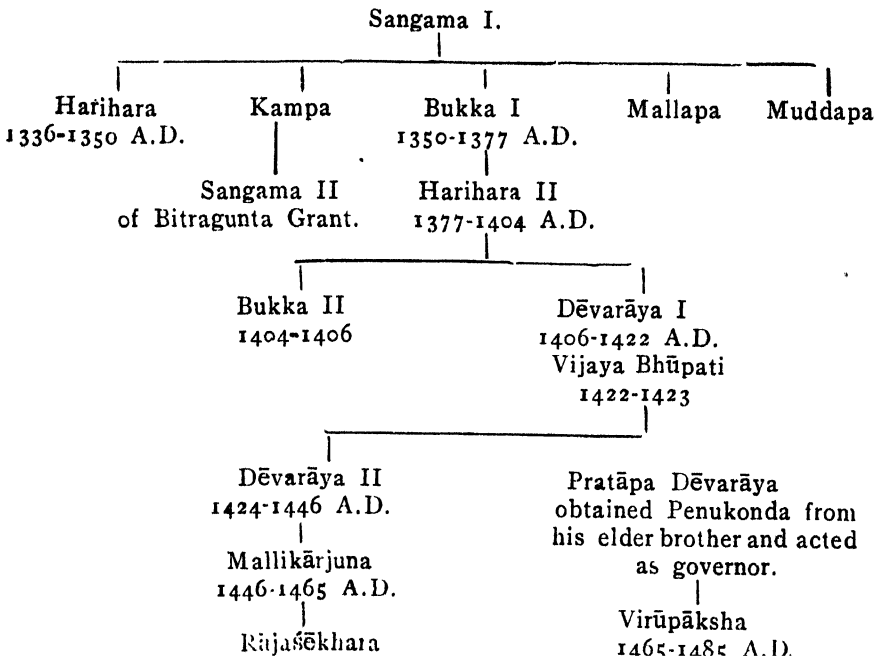
The closing years of the first dynasty in the history of Vijayanagar, are shrouded in mystery and darkness. An impenetrable veil of oblivion hangs over this portion of the history of Vijayanagar, consisting of the fall of the Sangama dynasty and the establishment of the Sālva dynasty.

Regarding the particulars of this period, it is lamentable to note that almost all our sources are silent and supply no information to illumine the period. Ferishta records no event concerning Vijayanagar during this troublous period. Nuniz gives, no doubt, the entire story of the events of this period in an interesting form, but we can, by no means, vouch for its accuracy. The information that can be gleaned from the inscriptions

End of the Sangama
Dynasty 1485 A. D.

regarding the events that occurred during this dark period, is sadly meagre and disappointing. It is indeed a mystery too deep to fathom how such a powerful empire, with vast resources at its command, decayed all on a sudden during the last quarter of the fifteenth century and how a feudatory chief like Sāḷuva Narasimha usurped the throne. In the absence of reliable information concerning the actual train of events, we must be content to let the Sangamas pass away in darkness.

SANGAMA PEDIGREE.



THE CHOLAS OF RENADU.

M. RAMA RAO, B.A. (HONS.) B. Ed.

1. About a dozen inscriptions from the Cuddapah District reveal to us the existence of a line of Chōla kings who trace their descent from Karikāla the great and claim to have been members of the Solar race and *Kaśyapa gōtra*. These were rulers of the Rēnādu 7000 district which is located in the Cuddapah and Karnool districts. Though we have no definite data in their records, regarding the age of their rule, Epigraphists believe, on the basis of Paleography, that they must have flourished in the 7th and 8th centuries. That a Chōla kingdom flourished in this region in the 7th century is borne out by the evidence of the Chinese pilgrim HieunTSang who speaks of it. It seems that the capital of Chu-li-ye was about 10 li round and at a little distance S. E. of it was a stūpa built by Aśōkarāja. The Chu-li-ye were S. W. of Dhānyakataka. "Going from Chu-li-ye South, we enter into a wild forest tract and passing 1500 or 1600 li we come to the country of Ta-lo-pi-cha (Dravida). This account locates Chn-li-ye or the Cholas in the Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts south of which there is still a wild jungle tract. It is plain beyond doubt that a Chōla family ruled in the Cuddapah district in the 7th century.

I. *Karikāla Chola.*

2. There is a very strong tradition in the Telugu country which mentions that Karikāla Chōla conquered it and ruled for some time over it. The Telugu Chōlas almost invariably trace their descent from this king. Even the later Pallava rulers of this country, known as the Telugu Pallavas refer to this chieftain as the contemporary and rival of Trilōchana Pallava their own ancestor. Some of the Eastern Chālukyan records while describing the origin of the Chālukyas, mention that a certain Vijayāditya of that family fought with Trilōchana Pallava, when he invaded the Dekkan. This Karikāla-Trilōchana-Vijayāditya synchronism is too popular to be dismissed as a mere figment of imagination.¹ It cannot be denied that this Karikāla obtained the Telugu country by defeating the Pallava who was then its ruler. Evidently then the initial point of Chōla rule in Andhra depends upon the date of Karikāla Chōla.

1 Dr. N. Venkataramanayya—*Karikāla Chola and Trilochana Pallava*, App.E.

3. There is a wide divergence of opinion regarding the date of Karikāla. He is very well known to ancient Tamil literature and on that basis some have tried to assign him to the 2nd or 3rd century B. C. Several attempts have been made in this direction based on the Karikāla-Trilōchana-Vijayāditya synchronism. The late Mr. Krishnasastri wrote that there were five generations between Vijayāditya and Kubja Vishnu: calculating backward from the latter's date he arrived at the conclusion that Vijayāditya, Karikāla and Trilōchana flourished at the end of the 5th century A.D.² While discussing the significance of the expression, *Tirairāṇiya* Dr. N. Venkataramanayya wrote "Karikāla's invasion of the Pallava kingdom must have taken place during the later half of the 6th century A. D.³ In his book "Trilōchana Pallava and Karikāla Chōla" he discusses the problem at length and postulates a new way of approach. His views may be briefly considered here. He quotes from an early Eastern Chālukyan record,⁴ "A king of this race, Vijayāditya by name, having gone to the Dekkan with the desire of conquest and having challenged Trilōchana Pallava, met with his death on the battle-field. His chief queen, who had been pregnant for six months, reached an *agrahāra* called Muḍivēmu and being protected like a daughter by Vishnubhaṭṭa Sōmayajin who dwelt there, gave birth to a son Vishnuvardhana."⁵ This story is not found in the inscriptions of the Chalukyas of Badāmi and they give other names in place of Vijayāditya and Vishnuvardhana of the Vēngi records. The earliest inscriptions of the Badāmi house, containing geneological accounts, mention Jayasimha, Raṇarāga and Pulikēsin I. A little later the Doctor says "But the Eastern Chalukyan grants of the same age ignore Jayasimha and Raṇarāga altogether, and mention in their place, the names of two other kings, Vishnuvardhana and Vijayāditya".⁶ Then he proceeds "we are of opinion that Vishnuvardhana and Vijayāditya should be identified with Jayasimha and Raṇarāga respectively".⁷ Later on, he says "If we are right in our surmise, Vijayāditya the opponent of Trilōchana Pallava must be the father of Jayasimha-Vishnuvardhana."⁸ Calculating from 566-67 A. D. the initial year of Kīrti varma I. at the rate of 20 years a generation, Dr. Ramanayya concludes "Therefore Trilōchanapallava appears to have lived during the closing years of the 5th century A. D. That must have also been the time when his great rival Karikāla flourished".⁹ Sound as this argument is

2 E.I. XI p. 340.

3 Madras Christian College Magazine January 1929.

4 E.I. VI p. 239.

5 Karikāla & Trilōchana p. 40-41.

6 Ibid p. 42.

7, Ibid. 8. Ibid. p. 43

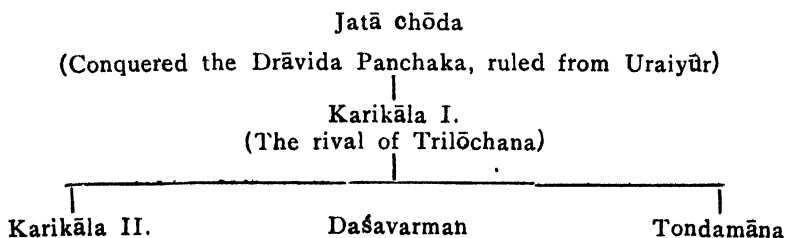
9. Ibid. p. 44

there is still an apparent confusion in the later part of the reasoning. The Doctor states that the Vengi records mention Vijayāditya and his posthumous son Vishnuvardhana. Then he refers to the Badāmi accounts mentioning Jayasimha and Raṇarāga. Logically then, the identification should be between Jayasimha of Badāmi with Vijayāditya of Vengi and Raṇarāga with Vishnuvardhana. But instead, the scholar identifies Jayasimha with Vishnuvardhana and Raṇarāga with Vijayāditya. It appears as though there has been an unwarranted inversion of the order of the names given by the Vengi inscriptions. This seeming confusion is the result of an omission. The Raṇasthipūdi and Chellūr grants which speak of the early ancestors of the Eastern Chalukyas mention the adventurer Vijayāditya who encountered Trilōchana, his posthumous son Vishnuvardhana and a second Vijayāditya after him. The Doctor leaves out Vijayāditya I. and identifies his son Vishnuvardhana and grandson Vijayāditya II. with Jayasimha and Raṇarāga respectively. Karikāla probably has to be assigned to a slightly different date, even on the basis of Dr. Ramayya's identification. It is generally accepted by scholars that the accession of Pulikesin I took place in 550 A.D. Jayasimha-Vishnuvardhana and Raṇarāga-Vijayāditya preceded him. The period between Pulikesin I. and Vishnuvardhana may be put as 50 years, at the rate of 25 years a generation. Then Vishnuvardhana's rule starts in 500 A. D. It is said that Vishnubhaṭṭa Sōmayāji brought up Vishnuvardhana, and gave him the instruction and training necessary for a future ruler. After this he made penance, obtained the grace of Nandā bhagavati and extra-ordinary powers along with it. With this equipment Vishnuvardhana started the conquest of a number of rival powers like the Kadambas etc. and finally founded a kingdom. Twenty or twenty five years at least must have elapsed, before he could establish himself. This shows that Vishnuvardhana must have been born about 475 A. D. Vijayāditya I's wife was pregnant for six months when he was slain in battle by Trilōchana pallava. This dates the battle in 474 A. D. This indicates that Trilōchana flourished about the middle of the 5th century A. D. and not in the third quarter thereof. This would also be the date of his contemporary and rival Karikāla. On the supposition that this Chōla monarch had ruled for some time before invading the Pallava dominions, we may approximately assign him to the period 450—500 A. D. His varied and prolonged activity, constructive and administrative, so highly spoken of in the village *Kaṭṭiyats* justifies the long period of fifty years assigned to this monarch.

4. Many interesting details are available regarding Karikāla in Telugu literature, tradition and epigraphy. The Panditārādhyā charitra of Pāṭkuriki Sōmanātha, the Nirvachanōttara Rāmāyana of Tikkana, and

the Navachōla charitra of Linga Kavi allude to the daming of the Cauvery by Karikāla, the disobedience shown by Trilōchana and his consequent humiliation. Echoes of Karikāla's rule in the Telugu country are to be found in the *Kaifiyats* of several villages. The records refer to his invasion of the ceded districts, his reign therein, his activity as a builder and administrator, and as the destroyer of forests. Kanchi and Warangal were the two capitals of Trilōchana. In two successive invasions Karikāla conquered both these towns. Since then the Pallava seems to have migrated to Dharanikōta. Some time after this incident the Chōla undertook the construction of a flood bank to the Cauvery and demanded the help of the Pallava as he did of several other feudatories.¹⁰ When Trilōchana refused to obey, he was deprived of his third eye. This may be taken to indicate, probably a fresh invasion by Karikāla and the complete subjugation of the Pallava. To the Telugu country thus conquered the Chōla monarch did substantial good. He is famous for the reclamation of vast forest tracts and making them fit for cultivation. Near Kanigiri in the Cuddapah District, Karikāla cleared many forests, planted the village of Pottapi and named the neighbourhood as Pottapinādu. Many *agrahāras* were granted to Brahmins. A large number of tanks were constructed and many temples set up dedicated to the Puranic gods.

5. We have so far traced the traditions in the Telugu country regarding Karikāla's conquest and rule therein. Inscriptions of later Andhra dynasties¹¹ give the names of Karikāla's father and descendants and mention some interesting facts about them. The Geneology of his family may be thus stated:—



Early Tamil literature also speaks of Karikāla his ancestors and descendants.¹² Illam-get-chenni, Karikāla, Māvan, are given in succession and

10. चरणसरोरुह विहितविलोचन त्रिलोचनप्रमुखाखिल पृथ्वीश्वरकारित कावेरीतीर
etc.

11. S. I. I. VI. Nos. 650 & 628

12 Many stories are related about Karikāla in the Tamil poems *Puranānuru*, *Porunāraṭṭuppadai*, *Silappadigāram*, and *Pattinappalai*.

Māvan is said to have had two sons Udayakumāra and Tondamāna is But for Udayakumāra, the Tamil list is in agreement with the Telugu one. The reason for the omission of Udaya in the latter and Dāsavarman and Karikāla II in the Tamil one is obvious. Probably in the wake of Karikāla great's conquests, his sons Karikāla, Tondamāna and Dāsavarman settled down in the Telugu country and thus became ancestors of the later Telugu Chōḍas. Thus they would be beyond the province of the Tamil poets. Tondamāna is said to have been the son of a Bāna princess. These Bānas ruled in Vadugāvali or Āadhrapatha which is identical with Pākārāshtra. That the Chōlas continued to rule in the Telugu country after Karikāla the great is borne out by the mention in a later Telugu Chōḍa inscription, of the conquest of Pākārāshṭṭra by Dāsavarman and his rule from Pottapi. The later branches of Pottapi, Koṇidena and Nellore trace their descent from Karikāla II and Dāsavarman.

6. It is possible to fix approximately the time of Karikāla's successors in the light of Karikāla's own date and the geneology given by the later Telugu Chōḍa inscriptions. Karikāla we have assigned to the period 450—500 A. D. His son Mahimāna alias Māvan may be taken to have flourished between 500 and 525 while Karikāla II, Tondamāna and Dāsavarman may be referred to 525—550.

7. We have stated previously that Karikāla the great flourished till the close of the 5th century. The activity of his grandsons Dāsavarman and Karikāla II may be assigned to the middle of the 6th century. According to the Chinese pilgrim the Chōlas were ruling in the 7th century. The Mālepeḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra, one of the most famous members of this family, enable us to bridge the gap. Mr. Krishna Sastri the editor of these plates opined that "these plates may be roughly referred to about the end of the eighth century A. D."¹⁴ But Dr. N. Venkata Ramanayya disputes this conclusion and assigns on the basis of Chōla-Pallava synchronism and contemporary history, these plates to the middle of the Seventh century A. D.¹⁵ There were four rulers before Puṇyakumāra to whose time the Mālepeḍu plates belong. Allowing about a century for these rulers, we have to locate the rise of this family in the middle of the sixth century. This we think is the utmost limit to which the date of the successors of Karikāla the great can be extended. Thus then we have a continuous account of the rule of the Chōlas in the Telugu country.

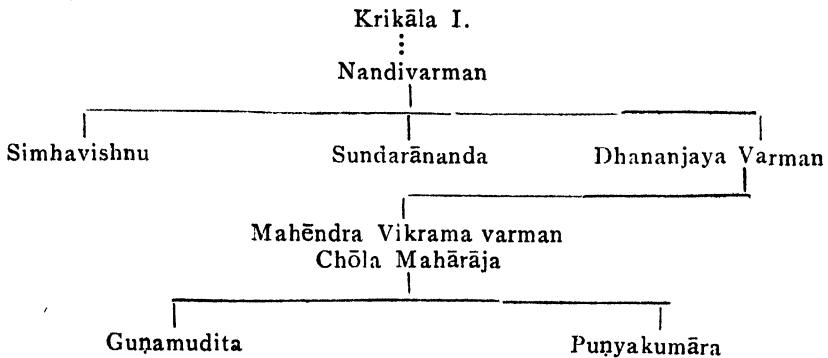
13. K. V. S. Iyer—Anc. Dec p. 201.

14. E. C. XII, E. I. XI, 337.

15. MDS. Christ. Coll. Mag—Jan 1929.

8. From the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to explain how these Chōlas of Rēnādu rose to fame. The Mālepādu plates tell us that Karikāla the great appropriated to himself the possessions of the three kings (Trai-rājya).¹⁶ The same expression occurs in the records of the Chālukyas of Badāmi and Vikramaditya I is credited with the same achievement. According to Dr. Ramanayya the expression means the three kingdoms of the Pallavas which he locates round Kanchi, in the Guntur and Nellore Districts and in the Ceded Districts respectively. Nandivarman the earliest known member of the Rēnādu family, probably drove away the Pallavas from the Northern portion of the Cuddapah District and carved out an independent kingdom. The instance of his ancestor Dāsavarman conquering Pākārāshtra from the Bānas serves as a good parallel in this connection.

9. The geneology of this family is thus given in the Mālepādu plates.¹⁷



Stone inscriptions from the Cuddapah District bring to light the names of some members of this family:—

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) Puṇyakumāra ¹⁸ | (4) Śaktikumāra Vikramāditya ²¹ |
| (2) Chōla Mahārājulu ¹⁹ | (5) Satyāditya ²² |
| (3) Vikramāditya Chōla Mahārājulu ²⁰ | |

16. Trairājya-Sthitim=ātmasāt-kritavatah (line 4) 17. E. I. XI p. 337

18. E. R. 381 of 1904 and 299 of 1906

19. E. R. 466, and 517 of 1906, 352 of 1905. 405, 406, 408 of 1904.

20. E. R. 400 of 1905.

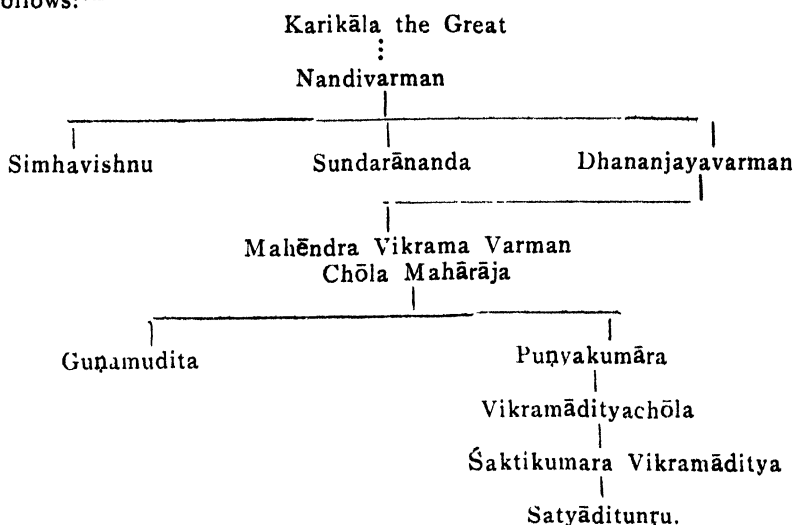
21. E. R. 393 of 1905.

22. Ibid.

The expression चोलमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर विक्रमादित्य शक्तिकोमार विक्रम

दित्युल कोडकुल सत्यादित्युल is split up by Mr. Krishna Sastry and the passage is so interpreted as to mean a CholaMaharajadhiraja Vikramaditya, his son sakti komara and Grandson Satyaditya. This is unwarranted. The portion preceding 'कोडकुल', refers to one individual only and not to two and that person is Saktikomāra Vikramāditya.

No. 1 of the above list is obviously identical with the Puṇyakumāra of the Mālepādu plates. His father Mahēndra is called Chōla Mahārāja and is the most famous member of the Rēnādu Geneology. family. No. 2 may be identified with him. The relation of No. 3. to the family of Puṇyakumāra is not definitely known. The names of the previous chieftains bear close resemblance to those of the Pallavas. Even during the time of Puṇyakumāra the influence of the Chālukyas of Badāmi over these rulers was very great. We may therefore presume that No. 3 above was closely connected with Vikramāditya I. of Badāmi and came immediately after Puṇyakumāra. Nos. 4 and 5 are father and son. Their names also indicate close Badāmi connections and so they may be located after No. 3 above. Then we have a tentative geneology of this family as follows:—



10. No definite datum is available regarding the chronology of these rulers. We have already stated that in view of contemporary history Puṇyakumāra and his predecessors must be assigned to the period before the middle of the 7th century A.D. The names of these Rēnādu chieftains give us another clue.

The names Nandivarman, Simhavishnu and Mahēndra Vikrama coming in close succession bear some affinity to the names of the Pallava kings of this period. Mahēndravarmaṇ I the Pallava had the surname Mahēndravikrama and this appears as the name of Puṇyakumara's father, Madana, vilāsa and Mārdavachitta the titles of Puṇyakumara remind us of Mahendravarmaṇ I's *birudas* Maṭṭavilāsa and Vichitraachitta. The name Guṇamudita assumed by Puṇyakumara's brother, resembles Guṇabhara another title of the Pallava king. We may therefore conclude that these

chōla chieftains were contemporaries and vassals of the Pallavas of Kanchi.²³ Of these Pallava kings Nandivarman I flourished between 525-550, Simhavarman 550-575, Simhavishnu 575-600 and Mahendravarman I 600-630 A.D.²⁴ Obviously then Nandivarman, Simhavishnu and Mahendra Vikrama of the Rēnādu line also belonged to these periods. Puṇyakumāra's titles Madanavilāsa and Mārdavachitta indicate that he was either a contemporary of Mahendravarman I or a great admirer of that Pallava monarch. He was possibly an early contemporary of that Pallava king. In the Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription of Vasanta Pōri Chōlamahadevi, his queen, Puṇyakumāra is given the title *Prithvi Vallabha*.²⁵ Both the title and the suffix *Pōri* are distinctly Chalukyan and indicate Puṇyakumāra's connections with that family. Since the time of Trilōchana Pallava, the Pallavas were particularly bent upon retaining their control over southern Karṇāṭa. The fight between Trilōchana and Vijayāditya Chalukya who tried to conquer Karṇāṭa, very well illustrates this point. We have already stated that the Rēnādu family were vassals of the Pallavas. Probably the latter set them up in the Rēnādu country as a bulwark against the rapidly advancing power of the Chalukyas of Badami. In the first quarter of the seventh century Pulikesin II defeated the Pallavas and subjugated the Cholas of Rēnādu so that they may guard his S.E. boundary. This conquest was cemented by a matrimonial alliance between Puṇyakumāra and Vasanta Pōri a princess of the Badami royal family.²⁶ Puṇyakumāra would then be a contemporary of Pulikesin II (608-642 A.D.) The name Vikramādityachōla given to Puṇyakumāra's son, indicates that this close connection with the Chalukyas was continued and that probably Puṇyakumāra's successor was a contemporary of Chalukya Vikramaditya I (655-682) the son and successor of Pulikesin II. The son and grandson of Vikramādityachōla may be taken to have ruled within the next 50 years. This arrangement assigns the Rēnādu family to the period between the middle of the 6th century and the middle of the 8th. The following approximate chronology may be assigned to this family,

Nandivarman	550-575
Simhavishnu	575-600
Mahendra Vikrama	600-625
Puṇyakumāra	625-675

23 Tribhuvanamalla Beta of the Kakatiya family, Tribhuvanamalla Mallideva chola, Trailokyamalla Mallidevachola of the later Telugu Choda families etc indicate the practice of the feudatories assuming the names and titles of their overlords.

24 Dubreuil—Ancient Dekkan p. 70.

25 E. R. 384 of 1904.

26 See Dr. Ramanayya in the Madras Christian College Magazine January 1929.

Vikramādityachōla	675-700
Śaktikumāra Vikramāditya	701-725
Satyāditya	725-750

11. Few definite facts are known about the reigns of these rulers. What little history can be culled out about them has to be so done from contemporary history. Dāsavarman son of Karikāla II founded Pottapi and ruled from there till about the middle of the 6th century. Nandivarman continued the Chola rule in that neighbourhood. Simhavishnu must have come under the influence of the Pallava prince of that name. We have stated previously that a branch of the Pallavas existed in the Cuddapah district. They probably just recovered from the consequences of the humiliation inflicted on them by Karkāla the great and his sons. It is likely therefore that they encountered Karkāla's successors, during the course of their own expansion.

12. Nothing is known about Sundarānanda the second member of this family. He figures as one of the ancestors of a Telugu-chōda chief called Śrīkantha chōda.²⁷ Nandivarman's third son was Dhananjayavarman. In some records from the Madda-giri taluk of the Tumkur district (Mysore) a certain Dhanamjaya Eṛiga figures as a Chōla and ruler of the Ālvādi 600 district. Rice assigns this chieftain to the 8th century.²⁸ Probably he was in some way related to Dhanamjaya of Rēnādu. At Kalamajla in the Cuddapah District, there is an inscription which mentions a Dhanarajeyundu who was ruling Rēnādu and Krishna Sastry assigns this record to the same period as the Mālepādu plates. In that case this chieftain would be identical with his namesake of the Mālepādu plates. We must note one interesting fact in this connection. After naming the three sons of Nandivarman the Mālepādu C. P. grant says "tē Putrānu-Pautryānu-bhūta-rājya-Sriyah" meaning that these enjoyed the kingdom from father to son. Apparently each of these three sons of Nandivarman had plenty of children and grand-children who all shared royalty. The Mālepādu plates only trace the history of Dhanamjayavarman's family because, Pūnyakumara the donor, belonged to it. We may therefore suppose that the history of the children of Simhavishnu and Sundarānanda and their children has been omitted in these plates. As such therefore Śrīkantha

27 E. R. 1906-09 pt. II para 14.

28 The Malepādu grant is addressed not only to the inhabitants of Pūnyakumara's own dominion but also to those of Hiranyarāshtra. This latter was a Pallava province. That it figures particularly in these plates may be taken to indicate its recent acquisition to the Renadu line, probably in the time of Mahendravarikrama, who must have conquered it and become Chola Maharaja.

choda was a descendant of Sundarānanda, as there might have been several others like him. On this hypothesis, it might be presumed that while Dhanamjayavarman's successors ruled in Rēnādu proper, the descendants of his brothers settled down elsewhere and established other centres of rule like Ālvādi, Nidugal, Haimavati etc. This might have happened as a result of the Pallava-Chalukya conflict and the defeat of the former.

13. That the Chōla Simhavishnu's son also bears the name and titles of Mahēndravarman Pallava, continues this relation between the two families. From the Mālepādu plates we learn that Mahēndravikrama of the Rēnādu family acquired the title of Chōla Mahārāja and that he was the lord of the Chōla, Pandya and Kērala countries. Though the latter fact may be dismissed as a mere boast, the former is of much significance. Mahēndra started as a feudatory of Mahēndravarman I. In the first decade of the seventh century Pulikēsin II of Badāmi defeated Mahēndra varman I who thereafter lost his hold on the Northern dominions in the Telugu country and retired to the South. This was a very good opportunity for the Rēnādu family. Mahēndravikrama threw off the Pallava yoke and not content with that, seized the Pallava province of Hiranyarāshtra²⁹ which lay between the Bay of Bengal and Rēnādu. He then assumed the title of Chōla Maharāja.

14. The glory of the Rēnādu family reached its zenith in the time of Puṇyakumāra. The Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription calls him Chōla Maharāja and evidently he continued as an independent ruler. His other title "Prithivīvallabha" which is distinctly Chālukyan indicates that he came under the influence of the Badāmi rulers. His contemporary in that lineage was Pulikēsin II. Puṇyakumāra's queen was Vasanti Pōri Mahadēvi. The suffix Pōri is also to be found added peculiarly after the names of Chālukyan princesses. Dr. Ramanayya supposes that Vasanti Pōri belonged to the Badāmi royal family and was married to Puṇyakumāra by Pulikēsin II who thus found a means not only of extending his influence but also of safeguarding his Southern boundary.³⁰ The reign of Pulikēsin II ended disastrously. Narasimhavarman I. invaded Badāmi and killed Pulikēsin in 642. This prolonged rivalry between the Chālukyas and the Pallavas left Puṇyakumāra free to consolidate his position and the interval of thirteen years which followed Pulikēsin's death also left the Rēnādu rulers unmolested. The Mālepādu plates reveal to us the greatness of Puṇyakumāra. They are issued by

29. His son Puṇyakumara figures as ruler over this District in the Mālepādu plates E. I. XI. 837.

30. Madras Christian College Magazine January 1929.

him at the request of a subordinate called Kottikūḍarāja who according to Krishna Sastry might have been actually ruling Hiranyarāshtra. In his fifth regnal year, Puṇyakumāra granted to Kēśavaśarman, the village of Birapāru situated on the Southern bank of the river Suprayōgā in Hiranyarāshtra. The river Suprayōgā figures as one of the boundaries of Uruvapalli in Muṇḍarāshtra.³¹ This territorial division figures as Mundai-nādu in some of the Tamil inscriptions of the Nellore District. Evidently then the river Suprayōgā was situated in the Nellore District. Further an inscription from the Podili Division of the same District mentions a chieftain of the solar race and is worded in the same way as the inscriptions of the Rēnādu line. We may conclude from this that Puṇyakumāra's influence extended even into the Nellore District. This was possible at this time because the fortunes of the Pallavas were at a low ebb and Mahēndravarman I lost his hold over the Telugu country as a consequence of his defeat by Pulikēsin II. From the Chippili inscription whose paleography resembles that of the Mālepādu plates and which we have assigned to Puṇyakumāra's time, we learn that this king was ruling at Chirpuḷi.³² This place may be identified with Chippili. It was probably the capital. It is also known that a certain Indrāla rebelled against Puṇyakumāra. He was probably put down. The Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription³³ tells us that while Puṇyakumāra was making a grant to Kēśavaśarman, his queen Vasanta Pōri Chōla Mahādēvi granted three hundred measures of land at Viripaṇiti to god Vasantisvara, evidently named after herself, of Tārumunṇi. The *ājnapti* or executor of the grant was a certain Māṇipidugu Raṭṭagudlu. This name is rather curious. Māṇipidugu is a surname quite familiar to this period. Many Pallava kings and their subordinates used it.³⁴ Krishna Sastry connects the word Raṭṭagudlu with the Sanskrit word *Rāshtrakūṭa* and explains it to mean "the headmen of a village."³⁵

15. An inscription from Chilamkūru mentions a Vikramaditya chōla Maharāja³⁶ who, we have previously stated, might have been the son of Puṇyakumāra and a contemporary of Vikramaditya I of Badāmi. He was also closely related to the Badāmi house, through his mother Vasanta Pōrichōla Mahādēvi. His title Chōla Maharāja indicates his independent rule and this was possible because at that time the Pallavas were engaged in a

31. I. A. V. P. 53.

32. E. R. 299 of 1905.

33. E. R. 384 of 1904.

34. E. I. XI. P. 342 FF. 7.

35. Ref. Ibid. P. 342—343.

36. E. R. 400 of 1904.

serious conflict with Bādāmi and had hardly any time to interfere with the rule of the Rēnādu chieftains. We are also told that this chōla Vikramaditya's queen was a certain Eḷanchōla Mahādēvi. A subordinate of this ruler, a certain Uttamāditya Sāmantaka is also known. E. R. 403 of 1904 mentions a Vikramaditya Bempaṇādhiraḷa and his eldest son (prathama-priyaputra). Possibly this chieftain is identical with Vikramaditya chōla Maharaja above.

16. Vikramaditya was succeeded by his son Śaktikomāra. Vikramaditya.⁸⁷ The Mālepādu stone epigraph which mentions his rule runs thus⁸⁸ — Sri Chōla-Mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara Śaktikomāra Vikramāditya Śaktikōmāra Vikramādityula koḍuk(uḷ)..... Śatyāditunṅu—meaning Śatyāditya son of Vikramāditya Śaktikomāra Vikramāditya who has the title Chōla Mahārājādhirāja paramesvara. Krishna Sastri breaks up the title and the name and evolves a Chōla Mahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya, his son Saktikomāra Vikramāditya and his grand-son Śatyāditunṅu.⁸⁹ This seems to be an unwarranted interference with the text of the inscription. There is nothing in it which gives the idea of a grandson. The word “kodukulu” occurs after the title and the name and makes the expression indivisible. There is nothing absurd in the name Vikramaditya Saktikomāra Vikramaditya. The first word indicates the chieftain’s appreciation of the Badami ruler of that name and constitutes an honorific prefix. Then the name proper would be Saktikomāra Vikramaditya. The title *Chola Mahārājādhirāja paramesvara* assumed by this chieftain is identical with the usual Chalukyan title *Sriman Mahārājādhirāja paramesvara* and might have been borrowed from the Badami house as an indication of closer affinity with it. We have already stated that Puṇyakumāra had another Chalukyan title viz., *Prithivīvallabha*. Saktikomāra’s son Śatyāditunṅu was ruling over Rēnādu and Siddhi 1000. Probably the former conquered this Siddhi province and hence the title Chōla Mahārājādhirāja.

17. Satyādītungu or Satyāditya was the last of the Rēnādu rulers. He does not possess even the title Maharāja. Still he is said to be ruling over the Districts of Siddhi 1000 and Rēnādu 7000. Possibly by his time, the Chōla power received a check either from the Chālukyas of Badāmi or numerous other chieftains like the Vaidumbas, the Gāṅgas and the Nolambas who were making advances in the Ceded Districts at this time.

37 E. R. 823 of 1904.

38 E. I. XI p. 345.

39 Idid p. 848 of, p. 846.

18. After Satyāditya we have no information regarding the Rēnādu rulers. Evidently their power was destroyed in the 8th century A. D. Contemporary history throws some light on the fall of these Chōlas. The Vaidumbas who seem to have been their most powerful neighbours were fighting with the Nolambas. Somehow the Chōlas of Rēnādu seem to have been drawn into this deadly conflict with fatal results. An inscription from Nallacheruvulapalle in the Cuddapah district⁴⁰ mentions an Elachōḷa Mahārāja and is assigned to the 8th century A.D. We may suppose that this chieftain succeeded Satyāditya in Rēnādu. This record refers to a Mutturāju. Another inscription from Mudivedu⁴¹ states that a certain Gandara-Mutrāja a Vaidumba general fought with the Lānkulas at Tiruvula and died. This battle of Tiruvula is known to have taken place in the reign of Vaidumba Mahārāja.⁴² The reference to Mutrāja in the Chōla inscription is perhaps as a rival. From this it follows that Elachōḷa Mahārāja had to fight the Vaidumbas in the time of Vaidumba Mahārāja. We have no more traces of the Rēnādu rulers after Elachōḷa. They might have been dispossessed of Rēnādu and driven away. Towards the close of the 8th century fresh troubles arose. Gangūla Pallava who was ruling over the Anantapur, Bellary and Kurnūl districts appears to have fought the Rēnēnādu rulers.⁴³ Just at this time the Rāshtrakūṭas invaded South India under Dhruva.⁴⁴ During the time of Govinda III the Rāshtrakūṭa dominion is said to have extended up to the Tungabhadra in the South.⁴⁵ A number of records from the Anantapur district show that the scions of the Rēnādu family left their home and sought their fortunes elsewhere. At Hindupur there is a record which mentions a Sōla Mahārāja with the usual Telugu-chōla titles.⁴⁶ On grounds of Paleography it is referred to about the 10th century. Another speaks of a certain Aravala Mahēndra a subordinate of Chōla Mahārājah.⁴⁷ Meanwhile the Vaidumbas continued in their possession of Rēnādu. Ganda Trinētra is known to have ruled over it⁴⁸ as well as Manuja Trinētra his successor.⁴⁹ Ganda Sankali another Vaidumba ruler is said to have been an enemy of the Sōlās⁵⁰ Sankali is placed in the 9th century and Ganda and Manuja Trinētras after him.⁵¹

40 E. R. 495 of 1906

42. E. R. 439 of 1914.

44 Fleet—Cānarese dynasties p. 393

46 E. R. 792 of 1918

48 E. R. 314 of 1923.

50 E. R. 300 and 301 of 1923.

41 E. R. 30 of 1923.

43 E. O. XII.

45 E. I. VI p. 329.

47 E. R. 798 of 1917.

49 E. R. 343 of 1923.

51 E. R. 1923 pt. II.

19. Thus ended the Rēnādu rulers after having flourished for about two centuries and a half from the middle of the 6th to the end of the 8th centuries. Besides Rēnādu which is identified with "the black soil country which roughly included large portions of the modern Districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool along the valley of the Kundēru river"⁵² these Chōlas once ruled over Hiranya Rāshtra and the Siddhi 1000 Districts. The crest of these kings deserves special consideration. The seal of the Mālepādu plates bears on it, cut in bold relief an animal in the pouncing posture, with the mouth wide open, the tail sharply twisted above and profuse mane round the neck. It looks like a lion⁵³. The Chōlas of Tanjore had the tiger for their crest. Other records of the Rēnādu family from Peddamudiyam and Muddanur also have similar figures and these closely resemble the lions carved out at Śiyamangalam in the time of Mahēndravarmān I. We have formerly stated that the early rulers of Rēnādu were subordinates of the Pallavas. Evidently then they borrowed the Lion crest also from the Pallavas along with Pallava names and titles. Sir Walter Elliot notices certain coins bearing on their obverse the same figure as the lion and tentatively attributes them to the Pallavas of Vēngi.⁵⁴ It is possible that these coins belonged to the Rēnādu rulers. Two more interesting points may be noted about these Chōlas. In their records we have the office of "Raṭṭadlu" mentioned. This is seen in its various forms as — *raṭṭedlu*, *raṭṭaguttu*, *raṭṭad'u*. Inscriptions of other times mention *raṭṭagudi*, *raṭṭōdi*, *raṭṭadi* and *raṭṭadikamu*. The form *raṭṭaguttu* (singular) is closely allied to the Sanscrit word *rāshtrakūta* frequently appearing in inscriptions in the expression — *rāshtrakūta Pramukhān sarvē Kutumbinah samāhūya* etc. Anyhow the *rāshtrakūta* as the village headman seems to be common in the 7th and 8th centuries in the Telugu country. Another feature is that these Chōla records are of much importance to the student of philology. The Mālepādu plates and the pillar inscription and stone record at Ramēsveram give the archaic forms of many Telugu words.

52. E. I. XI. p. 343.

53. Ref. figure opp. p. 338 in E. I. XI.

54. Coins of Southern India — Pl. II. Nos. 49—54.

DATE OF THE JIRJINGI GRANT OF INDRAVARMAN.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A.

While turning over the leaves of Volume III of the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, I happened to be attracted by the excellent facsimile of the Jirjingi copper-plates of the Eastern Ganga king Indravarman. The characters of the inscription at once appeared to me to belong to about the 6th century A. D. They are perfectly legible and are remarkably similar to the characters of the inscriptions of the Visnukundins and the early Chalukyas. Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., who has edited the Jirjingi inscription, however, has remarked: "The alphabet is Telugu of the 9th or 11th C. A. D." (*loc. cit.*, p. 46)





Any date contained in the inscription should necessarily be referred to the Gāṅga Era, which "seems to have commenced in A. D. 496" (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, App. p. 201. note 1; *Ind. Ant.*, LXI, pp. 237 f.). Mr. Subba Rao says: "The latter half of 25th line contains the date in numerical symbols, viz., the 309th year of the augmenting reign.." (*loc. cit.*, p. 50). If this reading of the date is correct, the grant is of course to be assigned to the beginning of the 9th century.

In line 25, Mr. Subba Rao has read: "*Pravardhamāna sam* (309)" and has informed us in a foot-note that he owes the reading of the date to Sri Lakshminaravana Harichandan Jagadev, Raja Bahadur of Tekkali.

1. After this paper was ready, Mr. R. Subba Rao, who originally edited the Jirjingi grant of Indravarman, has kindly informed me that my reading of the date of this grant, i. e., 80 (+) 9, was also suggested by himself in a slip (which however could not unfortunately be found in the volume I consulted) in the issue of the *Journal* that contained his interesting paper. (Vide Vol. III, part I, for July 1928). In his letter, Mr. Subba Rao has further written: "However, I feel that this Indravarman belongs to 39+496 or A. D. 535 and I have already stated so in our *Journals*. Vide *Pol. History of E. Gangas*." It is gratifying to learn that we are of the same opinion as regards the reading of the date of the Jirjingi grant as well as the age of the Eastern Ganga king named Indravarman, mentioned in this grant. (D. C. Sircar)

In his reply addressed to Mr. R. Subba Rao, M. A., Mr. D. C. Sircar states thus: "Bühler's *Indische Paleographie*, you certainly know, is the most authoritative work on Indian Paleography and I have suggested a correction in that famous work on the strength of my (and, as you tell me, also your) reading of the date of the Jirjingi grant and the remark of Kielhorn on the date of

I turned to the facsimile and found two numerical symbols after *sam*. The first of them is the same figure deciphered by Bühler as 3 and reproduced in his *Indische Paléographie*, Tabel IX. column XV; the second is the symbol for 9 (*Id.*, column XI.) It may therefore appear possible that in writing the number 39 the writer of the Jirjingi grant adopted the present method of expressing ten-figures by unit-figures, instead of the old method which would require, in the present case 30 (+) 93.

But the  symbol, which has been deciphered by Bühler as 3, seems really to represent the number 30. Bühler himself says: "30 = *la* oder *lā* (XIX—XXI, XXIII—IV, XXVI, B., Bh., K., P.) und mit abschl. Diff. *rla* und *rlā* (XXV, K.)" (*loc. cit.*, pp. 75—76), and: "30 = *la*, wie in den MSS., mit geringen Differenzirungen" (*loc. cit.*, p. 76). Since the  symbol, with variations, is accepted to represent the figure 30, the  symbol of the Jirjingi grant can be taken as a variation of the regular  - symbol, and as representing 30. We therefore read the date of the Jirjingi grant as "*sam* 30 (+) 9", that is, year 39, and assign the inscription to (A. D. 496 + 39 =) A. D. 535. As regards the date of the Chicacole grant of Dēvendravarma (see above, Foot-note 1; also Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.*, III. p. 133, on whose view Bühler depended), I think Kielhorn is right when he says: "The writer, in my opinion, has wrongly employed the numerical symbols for '8' and '30', instead of those for '80' and '3'." (*Ep. Ind.*, V. App. p. 91, note 7).

the Chicacole grant of Devendravarman. It is now, however, necessary for me to confess that my reading was originally suggested by you. I therefore append the enclosed footnote as the last word of my paper." (Editor.)

We are glad to state that Mr. R. SubbaRao's theory regarding the initial date of Ganga Era has received further support. He is the first to discover that it started in or about 494—495 A. D. (Editor)

2. ... "Jahresdatum 183 der Chicacole-Kupperplatte des Devendravarman durch 100 8 lo (= *loka* = 8, vgl. § 35 A) ausgedrückt..." *Loc. cit.*, p. 75.

3. Transition from the old method to the new is evidenced by several inscriptions. In the Sankheda plate (*Ep. Ind.*, II. p. 20 and Pl.) of the year 346, the number has been written by symbols for 3, 4 and 6, and not by 300, 40 and 6 in accordance with the old method. The year has been referred to the Kalachuri Era of 248 A. D. and the record is therefore to be assigned to the sixth century (A. D. 594) to which century the Jirjingi grant is also to be ascribed (A. D. 496 + 39 = 535 A. D.) The Tekkali inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII. p. 310 line 30, and pl.) of the Ganga king Indravarman has the date 154, which has been expressed there by symbols for 100, 5 and 4. It is interesting to note that both the methods have been used here by the writer. The figure for 100 is written in accordance with the old method, but the decimal figure, which should, be 55 according to that method, is 5. In other words, the number 54 (in 154) has been written in the Tekkali inscription as we write it to-day.

THE HISTORY OF THE EASTERN GANGAS OF KALINGA.

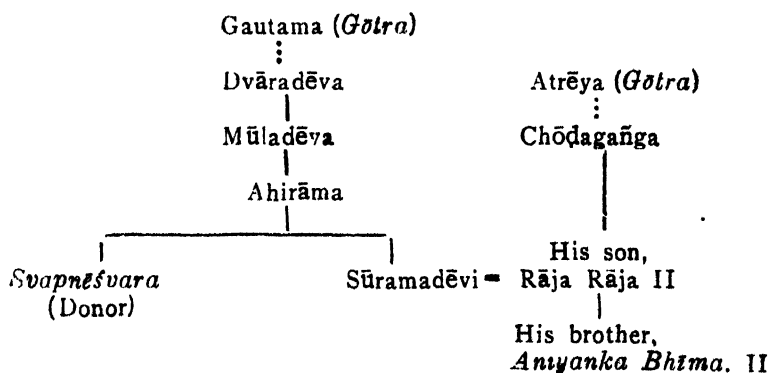
R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

Chapter VI

(Continued from page 188 of Vol. VII, Part 3.)

Aniyanka Bhīma or Anaṅga Bhīma II. A. D. 1190—1198.

Two important Bhuvanēśvar stone inscriptions of the time of this king were published in Ep. Ind. Vol. VI. The first records the foundation of a Śiva temple called Mēghēśvara by Svapnēśvara Dēva, a relative and general of the Eastern Gaṅga king Anaṅga Bhīma II, Emperor of Tri-Kalinga. It gives the following geneology:—



During the reign of Aniyanka Bhīma, "a Moon of Gaṅga race and Lord of Tri-Kalinga", Svapnēśvara, the brother-in-law of his brother Rāja Rāja was "the General and Weapon of the kings of Gaṅga Lineage". He built the Mēghēśvara temple and several tanks and granted *Agrahāra* (villages) to learned Brahmanas. The inscription is not dated but from references to Rāja Rāja and his brother Anaṅga Bhīma, it may be said to belong to the end of the 12th century A.D.

The second record is still more interesting as it throws new light on the literary activities of the period. We learn that Bhaṭṭa Bhavaśēva was a learned Vedic Sage who knew the meaning of Kumārila's *Mīmāṃsā Tantravartika* and who was "a very Agastya to Bauddha Sea and Master of Samhita or Jyōtishsāstra, Tantra, etc, Author of Hōrasāstra like Varāhamihira, Codifier of laws, Commentator on Smṛitis, Author of a new Mimāṃsa and Professor of Poetry, Medicine, Arms, Magic, etc. He had tanks dug in the country of Rādhā to the south-west of the Ganges and temples built at Puri for Nārāyana and Viṣṇu also."

Since this inscription also belongs to the close of the 12th century A.D., Bhaṭṭa Bhava must have lived in Orissa at that time and worked for the spread of Vedic learning and Vaiṣṇavite religious cult,

Chapter VII.

The Later Eastern Gaṅga Kings A. D. 1198—1434.

5. *Rāja Rāja III. A. D. 1198—1211.*

An account of his reign is known to us from the Stone Inscriptions found at Srikūrmam,¹⁷⁴ the C. P. Grants of Narasimhadēva II,¹⁷⁵ Bhānudēva II¹⁷⁶ and Narasimhadēva IV,¹⁷⁷ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* and *Mādala pāñji*.

One insc. (No. 1273) records that a certain Dēvarāju gave, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, a gift of three *puṭṭis* of land, measured by *Jagadevakōla*, for supply of castor oil to God Sreekūrmanātha. It is dated in Ś, 1127 or A. D. 1205 which is said to be equal to the 10th regnal or *anka* year of Anantavarmadēva. Evidently, this is another name for Rāja Rāja III whose 10th *anka* or 8th actual ruling year falls in A. D. 1205 as stated in the later C. P. grants. It therefore follows that his accession to the throne took place in A. D. 1198. Another incs. (No. 1317) records that a certain Ballu Perग्गाḍa endowed land for supplying oil to God Sreekūrmanātha in Ś. 1128 or A. D. 1206 which is said to be equal to the 11th regnal or *anka* year of Anantavarma. This will also prove that, since the 11th *anka* or 9th actual ruling year falls in A. D. 1206, his accession took place in A. D. 1198 only.

The C. P. Grants of Narasimha II, Bhānudēva II and Narasimha IV give interesting details about his reign. He was the son of Aniyanka Bhīmadēva by his chief queen Bāghalla Dēvi. The name of his wife, according to the plates of Narasimha IV, was Guṇa or Sadguṇa and according to those of Narasimha II, Mankuṇa of Chālukya Dynasty. He is credited with a reign of 17 years and since these are *anka* years, we get 14 actual ruling years for this king or, in other words, his reign came to an end in A. D. 1211. He is said to have possessed valour superior to that of his father and assumed the reins of government in his youth. He is also credited with having received the homage of several *sāmanta* or vassal kings. His marching war-horses and his raging war-elephants frightened even the *Dik-Gajas* (Elephants in the four Quarters). His Empire was surrounded by the seven seas. He was well-versed in the study of the Śāstras and his fame spread in the world. He was like Karṇa in benevolence, Arjuna in power and Yudhisṭhira in truthfulness. He had the title of Rājēndra.

174. Nos. 1273 and 1317 in S. I. I. Vol. V.

175. J. A. S. B. Vol. LXV, pp. 229—271.

176. *Orissa in the Making*, pp. 201—204.

177. J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIV, pp. 128—154.

From the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*,¹⁷⁸ we learn that the first Moslem invasion of Jāgnagar or Orissa took place in this reign in 601 A. H. or A. D. 1205. Briefly stated, two brothers named Muhammad Sheran and Ahmad Sheran who were Khilji Amirs in the service of Muhammad bin Bakhtyār Khilji, Sultan of Dehli, were sent by him against Lakhnūr (Bengal) and Jāgnagar (Orissa). But, on hearing of the death of the Sultan in a campaign against Kamarup (Assam) and Tibbet, in A.H. 601 or A. D. 1205, they returned to Devkot without conquering Orissa. Probably, the strength and valour of the Emperor of Orissa had also much to do with their retreat without realising their purpose.

6. *Anaṅga Bhīma Deva III. A. D. 1211—1238.*

After the death of Rāja Rāja III, his son Anaṅga Bhīma, born to Mankuṇa Dēvi of Chālukya Dynasty, came to the throne in A.D. 1211. He had the title of *Tri-Kalinganātha* or Lord of Tri-Kalinga as stated in the Chātēśwara inscription¹⁷⁹ which further records that his Brahmin minister called Vishṇu fought against the Lord of Tummāṇa (Bilaspur Dt. of C. P.) and the Yāvanas (Moslems) of Bengal. A detailed account of his reign is known to us from the C. P. Grants of Narasimha II and IV and Bhānudēva II, two stone inscriptions found in the Drākshārāma Temple,¹⁸⁰ two inscriptions found in the Simhāchellam Temple,¹⁸¹ five inscriptions found in the Sreekūrmam Temple,¹⁸² three inscriptions found in the Kṛittivāsa Temple at Bhuvanēśwara,¹⁸³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, *Mādātā-pāñji* and *Gaṅgavamsānucharitam*. His reign is very important because from this time onwards the Gaṅga History becomes clearer and more detailed. His Empire spread from the River Ganges in the North to the River Godavari in the South. His inscriptions are found both in Utkala and Andhradēśa and the former show how, when the Moslems tried to attack Orissa with a view to conquer it, he and his ministers defeated them. Dakshina Kōsala or Chattisgarh District of C. P. which was ruled by the Haihayas was also conquered by them and the Haihayas entered into marriage relations with the Gaṅgas. The construction of temples, pleasure-houses, roads and tanks, the conquest of the Moslems

178. Translated by H. G. Raverty and published by As. Soc. of Bengal. Vide pages 573—74.

179. J. A. S. B. Vol. LXVII, pp. 317—327.

180. Nos. 1329 and 1360 in S. I. I. Vol. IV.

181. Nos. 1180 and 1194 in S. I. I. Vol. VI.

182. Nos. 1276, 1282, 1284, 1290 and 1337 in S. I. I. Vol. V.

183. Pp. 261—262 in R. D. Banerji's History of Orissa.

and the extension of the Empire and lastly the performance of the golden *Tulā-purusha* or weighing ceremony by Anaṅga-Bhīma, all these show that the Empire was steadily growing powerful and prosperous.

The C. P. inscription of Narasimhadēva II records that king Anaṅga Bhīma was noted for great valour and personal beauty. The strength of his arms rooted out all enemies. The evils of *Kali* Age were put down by him. He was fond of deep meditation and devotion to God. His liberality surpassed that of *Kāmadhēnu* and he was regarded as another Hiraṇyagarbha. He had the three-fold royal powers and observed the *Tulā purusha dāna* (the ceremony of weighing his person against gold or silver and presenting the same to Pandits). He granted several pieces of land to pious Brahmanas. The *Mādalā-pāñji* states that the temple of Jagannath was built by this king but the inscriptions of Narasimha IV ascribe it to Chōḍagaṅga. M. Chakravarti suggests that while the main temple was built by Caḍagaṅga, the side temples, walls, etc were constructed and the systematisation of ceremonies and *sevās* (religious services) was made in Anaṅgabhīma's time and hence in course of time, the former also was ascribed to him.

N. N. Vasu, who edited the C.P. grant of Nṛsimha II quotes the Chātēśvara inscription of Anaṅgabhīma II and states: "The Vaikhānasas could not even by their most austere penance comprehend the Omnipresence and all pervadingness of Viṣṇu to the extent to which the idea was realised by the Tumghāna king (i. e. Tughril-i-Tughan Khan) when he began, apprehending Viṣṇu here and there, to look around through extreme fear, while fighting on the bank of the Bhīma, at the skrits of the Vindhya hills and on the sea-shores. He alone fought against the Muhammadan king, and applying arrows to his bow killed many skilful warriors. His heroism transcends description."

It is certain that Anaṅgabhīma and his son Nṛsimha I fought several battles against the Muhammadans and conquered Rāḍha and Varēndra countries, although the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* states to the contrary and alleges that Orissa was paying tribute to the Sultans of Bengal. M. Chakravarti states, in his *Chronology of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings of Orissa*, that Viṣṇu, the Brahmin minister of Anaṅgabhīmadēva fought for him with the Lord of Tummāṇa and with the Yāvanas and contends that Tummāṇa could not be the same as Tumghana, that the lord of Tummāṇa could not be Tughrilkhan but only the Chēdi king and that the war took place in or about A.D. 1212. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* mentions that the Sultan of Bengal, Ghiyāṣuddin Iwāz Shah, took tribute from Bengal, Assam, Tirhut and Orissa but R. D. Banerji very rightly states that this statement is open to doubt as the Chātēśvara and Bhuvanēśvara inscriptions record the conquests of the king against the Muhammadans. He

also mentions that the war took place in A.D. 1220 but the earlier date given by Chakravarti is more probable.

There are several stone inscriptions of his reign which also throw much new light on his reign. Thus, an inscription (No. 1329), found in the Drākshārāma temple, gives all the sovereign titles of the king including *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Paramēśvara* and *Trayivasundarāsamuddha rana* and states that his father also like himself had the title of Tri-kalingēśvara (Lord of three Kalingas). It belongs to the 8th year of the king's rule and records that a flower garland weighing 40 *gadyas* was granted to God Bhīmēśvara of Drakshārāma. The king is called Aniyanka Bhīmadēva Rauta. Another inscription (No. 1360) records a gift to the same god made by Aniyanka Bhima's commander-in-chief in Ś. 1152 or A.D. 1230.

An inscription (No. 1180) dated Śaka year 1138, found in the Simhachelam temple, records that that year is equal to the 7th anka or the 5th actual ruling year of the king. This would make Śaka 1133 as the first year of his rule. The inscription records that a minister called Saptaya made a gift of five Nandi *Māḍas* towards a daily offering to God Nṛsimha for the long life, health and wealth of his mother, Sivarāṇi who was related to the kings of the Ganga Dynasty and who was called *Kalinga Saraswati* (Goddess of Learning Incarnate) and who was devoted to the Holy feet of the illustrious Purushōttama. Another (No. 1194) dated Ś. 1143 records the gift of a perpetual lamp to God Nṛsimha by Chōḍagaṅga II, son of Anantavarma Aṭṭahāsadēva. This shows how the collateral branch of the royal family, descended from Chōḍagaṅga's brother, was still ruling in Kalinga subject to the control of the Imperial dynasty.

An inscription (No. 1276) found in Sreekurmam Temple dated Ś. 1155 relates how a servant of Ananka Bhima Ravutu made a gift of two lamps to Sreekurmanātha. Another (No. 1282) dated Ś. 1139 belonging to the 9th anka or 7th actual ruling year of the king confirms that his accession took place in Ś. 1133 or A.D. 1211 and that he was called Anantavarma Rautadēva. The inscription records the very interesting fact that a sum of 5 *Malla māḍas* was granted for burning a perpetual lamp with gingily oil in the temple by a certain Brahmin lady called Bhīmāvati. Another (No. 1183) dated Ś. 1133 or A.D. 1211, the year in which the king ascended the throne, refers to the gift of a land by a certain Kanda-ma Raja who was a Viceroy and who belonged to the Haihaya dynasty. The limits of his Empire extended to the River Ganges (in the north) and his country was surrounded (on the east) by the sea. This only proves that the Haihayas who were, like the Kadambas, connected by marriage ties with the Gaṅgas extended their power by ruling over the northern provinces of the Gaṅga Empire. Another (No. 1284) dated Ś. 1155 or A.D. 1235 records the gift of a land in the village of Tonengi on the

occasion of a solar eclipse by *Śrīkarana Mahānātha Senāpati* who was the *Daṇḍādhikāri* and *Senādhyaksha* of Ananga Bhīma *Nṛpati*. It is important to note that Mahānātha was a very powerful official in as much as he was the illustrious private Secretary to the king, Commander-in-chief of the army and the Supreme Magistrate of Tri-kalinga *maṇḍalam*. Another inscription (No. 1290) gives most important details of his reign. It is dated in Ś. 1152 which is said to be equal to the king's 22nd *anka* or 18th actual ruling year. But since the accession took place in Ś. 1133 and since the 18th ruling year would fall in Ś. 1150, we have to correct the date of the inscription. The king is styled as Anantavarma. The subject matter of the inscription is as follows:—

In the presence of the illustrious great sage Narasimha Rāmēśvara Andāri, the priest of the Temple of Madhukēśvara lying in Kalinga Maṇḍala Nagaram in the district of Kulavantani (Parlakimedi), the Nāyaks subordinate to Adityanāyak of Simhapura in the district of Varāhavantani (Chicacole), the Nāyaks subordinate to Nārepa Nāyak of Śrīkurmam., the Nāyaks subordinate to Gangama Nāyak of Ippili, the Nāyaks subordinate to Vishṇama Nāyak of Tāmaracheruvu, the Nāyaks subordinate to Bhīma Nāyak of Sammaka Pampu, the Nāyaks subordinate to Mallapa Nāyak of Erada Pampu, the Nāyaks subordinate to Erna *mandalika* of Dharmavur, the Redḍi Chiefs of Bhōgapur, the Circle subordinate to the Mahājanas of Tāḍitorti gave to the Nāyaks of the village of Ponnadiya certain flower gardens but, owing to certain quarrels that arose between the villages of Ponnadiya and Bomtalākōṭa regarding their boundary limits, examined the concerned inscriptions of both places and fixed the boundaries by setting up stones in the presence of Aniyāṅka Bhīma Rautadēva, Narasimha Muni, Devotees of Sreekurmam, Vaishṇavas of Tirupati, Government officers, and Nāyaks of Kalinga Province and resolved that, in case the people of Bomtalakōṭa disputed the boundary limits or harmed the interests of Ponnadiya or removed the gardens, all their properties would be taken possession of and they would be exiled and deprived of their occupations. They would also be socially excommunicated. To observe these, they swore by their King and God Jagannātha.

It is curious to note that there were serious boundary disputes between villages as in Ancient Greece and the Nāyaks of various places had to interfere in the presence of their King and religious Pontiff and settle them much as the Amphictionic Council of Delphi settled such religious disputes between villages in Greece. The irreligious and impious act committed by the villagers of Bomtalakōṭa probably necessitated the taking up of such stern measures—political, economic and social—by so many Nāyaks of the South Ganjam District against the offending village. In this respect also, a good comparison is afforded with similar

conditions prevailing in Ancient Greece in the 4th century B.C. A confederacy of the military chiefs of several places against a single offending village for a religious cause, with the knowledge and approval of the King and Pontiff, was formed in a curiously effective manner with more religious sanction behind it and it is doubtful whether another similar instance can be found in any other part of India at the time (A.D. 1230). The determination to carry out the sanctions was sealed effectively by their swearing by God and Crown and similar instances of oath-taking are found mentioned in the inscriptions at Drakshārāma and they were made by certain feudatory chiefs of the Chalukya kings.

From the Bhuvanēśvar inscription,¹⁸⁴ we learn that the king had a daughter called Chandradēvi who married Paramārdhidēva of the Haihaya dynasty. He helped the king's son Narasimha Dēva I in his wars against the Muhammadans and died while fighting. His wife Chandradēvi erected in A. D. 1278, in the reign of Narasimhadēva's son, Bhānudēva I, a temple at Bhuvanēśvar. It is learnt that the Rāja Rāpi temple, situated on the banks of Bindu-sāgaram tank, was the temple built by her where she was offering worship to Baladēva, Kṛṣṇa and Subhadra, the deities of Vishṇu cult set up there. From and after the reign of Anantavarma Chōḍa Gaṅga, owing probably to the change of capital to Cuttack and also to the practice of Vishṇu cult there, the Kalinga Gaṅga Rājas began to bestow more attention upon and endow more liberally the Vaishnavite temples in the Empire as in Srikurmam, Simhāchellam, Jagannādhām and Bhuvanēśvaram. The Mukhalingam temple does not show any sign of royal patronage now. No more royal donors or princes endowed it as before. All attention was turned to Sreekurmam, Simhāchellam and Jagannātham which became, along with Kōṇārka where a Sun temple was built by Narasimha I, strong Vaishnavite centres from the middle of the 12th century A.D. However, it must be said to the credit of these kings that they did neither persecute nor completely neglect the Saivite faith. //

The Mādalāpānji or Oriya chronicle,¹⁸⁵ preserved in the Puri Temple, states that this king was the most powerful among the later Gaṅga kings and he got the lands surveyed and assessed and made liberal grants to Temples and Brahmins. The inscriptions, found in the temples of Kṛttivāsa in Bhuvanēśvara and Bhimēśvara in Drākshārāma, state that the king had several different names like Aniyanka Bhīma, Ananga Bhīmadēva, Ananga Bhīmaveera, Śrī Bhīmadēva, Anantavarma, and Trikalīnganātha. It is probable that the Aniyanka Bhīma Temple

184 J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XV, p. 280 and EP, Ind. Vol. XIII, p. 150,

185 Notes from Mādalā Pānji, J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XIII pp. 10—27.

still found in a good state in Mukhalingam, the former capital of the Gaṅga kings, was really built by this king after his own name. Such a practice was found among the Chōlas, the E. Chālukyas and the Kakatiyas at that time. Probably, the Sōmēśvara temple in the same place which is now in a dilapidated condition but which contains some of the best artistic pieces of sculpture was also built at the same time.

One of the three inscriptions found in the temple of Kṛittivāsa belongs to Ś. 1145 or A. D. 1224 and another to the 4th year after the king's *abhisheka* (coronation).¹⁸⁶ Nothing more is known about them.

The Chātēśvara inscription, found in Krishnapur, Cuttack District¹⁸⁷ is undated, "and records the erection of a temple of Śiva by one Govinda, a Brahmin of the Vatsa *gotra*. According to this inscription, either Govinda or Ananga Bhima erected several pleasure-houses at Purushottama or Puri and performed the golden *Tulāpurusha* ceremony at that place. He also constructed many roads and excavated tanks."

After a long and glorious rule of 34 *anta* years, he died in A.D. 1238, leaving the throne to his son, Narasimha I born to Kasturādēvi.

The *Mādālā Pāñji* or *Maddala Putti* (Manuscript-bundle resembling a drum) which includes all kinds of records such as inventories of articles and ceremonials relating to the temple of Jagannath and annals of the kings that ruled over Orissa from the time of *Kaliyuga*, is of different varieties, some dating from the Mughal period and some from the time of Ramachendradev III, the Rāja of Khurda who ruled from A. D. 1810 to A. D. 1857. They do not give a correct history of the Gaṅga kings¹⁸⁸ though, from the time of the accession of Kapilēndradēva, they give reliable history. They give references to the invasion of the country by Yavanas in two different ages—one earlier and the other later.

186. J. A. S. B. Vol LXXII, p. 118.

187. R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa*, p. 262.

188. The 44th and the last king of the Kesari dynasty called Suvarna Kesari died childless in A. D. 1132 when his Governor Vasudeva Bāhampati helped the invasion of Chōdaganga who founded his dynasty. Its geneology and chronology are given as follows:—

1. Chōdaganga	1181- 51	10. Gatikanta Narasimha	1317-29
2. Gangēśvara	1151- 60	11. Kapila	1329-30
3. Ekjatakamdeva	1160- 71	12. Samkhabhasura	1830-37
4. Danabādeva	1171- 75	13. Samkha Vasudeva	1837-61
5. Anangabhavadeva	1175-1202	14. Bali	1861-82
6. Raja Rajesvarideva	1202- 87	15. Veera	1882-1401
7. Langulya Narasimha	1237- 81	16. Kavi	1401-18
8. Kesari	1281-1307	17. Nemgatamta	1414-39
9. Pratap	1307- 17	18. Netra Vasudeva	1439-52

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL GENERAL BODY MEETING
HELD ON 13-4-1933 IN THE HINDU SAMAJ HALL.**

PRESENT

Messrs.

- | | | |
|---|--|-------------------------|
| 1 | Rao Saheb A. Rama Rao Pantulu (in the chair) | |
| 2 | T. Venkataratnam | 10 N. Venkataramayya |
| 3 | K. Raghavachari | 11 N. Subba Rao Pantulu |
| 4 | V. Appa Rao | 12 N. Kameswara Rao |
| 5 | K. Iswar Dutt | 13 B. V. Krishna Rao |
| 6 | P. Kameswara Rao | 14 R. Subba Rao B.L. |
| 7 | D. Ch. Kameswara Rao | 15 R. Subba Rao M.A. |
| 8 | P. Ranganaikulu Naidu | 16 C. Atmaram |
| 9 | M. Rama Rao | 17 D. Venkata Rao. |

1 Resolved that Messrs V. Appa Rao and P. Kameswara Rao be admitted as members of the Society.

2 Resolved that the Annual Report read by the Honorary Secretary be adopted.

3 Resolved that the Annual Report read by the Treasurer be adopted.

4 Resolved that the Annual Report read by the Librarian be adopted.

5 Resolved that the following Resolution of Mr. M. Rama Rao be passed:—

“Resolved that there shall be two Secretaries for the Society”

6 Resolved that the following Resolution of Mr. M. Rama Rao be passed:—

“Resolved that those who have been members of the Society for a period of at least five years and who wish to become life members, may be allowed to include the annual subscription that they have paid for those five years only in their life membership payment, on a further payment of the balance.

7 Resolved unanimously that the following Gentlemen be elected as Office-bearers for the year 1933—34.

1 *President*—Sri Raja K. S, Jagannadha Rao Bahadur garu

2 *Vice-President*—Rao Saheb A. Rama Rao Pantulu garu

3 *Secretary*—V. Appa Rao garu

4 *Treasurer*—N. Kameswara Rao garu

5 *Librarian*—M. Kama Rao garu

Managing Council.

Messrs.

1 Rao Bahadur P. Ranganayakulu Naidu

2 B. V. Krishna Rao

3 C. Atmaram

4 R. Subba Rao.

8 Resolved unanimously as follows:—

“This House unanimously places on record its deep debt of gratitude to and its high sense of appreciation of the work done by Mr R. Subba Rao the outgoing Secretary during the last nine years. The young plant of the Society was literally nurtured by him in its infancy and brought up with great care and the Members, being fully aware of the great trouble which he undertook throughout, unanimously render their heart-felt thanks to him and place their appreciation of his work on record.

9 Resolved to adopt the Decennial Report of the Society read by the Secretary.

The Twelfth Annual Report for 1932—33.

The Secretary, Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T. read the following report:—

The Managing Council have great pleasure in presenting the following Report of the Society's work for the year 1932—33.

At the last Annual General Body Meeting of the Society held on 10-4-32 under the Presidentship of M.R.Ry. Raja K.S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur, the annual reports presented by the Secretary, the Treasurer and the Librarian were read and adopted and the following office-bearers were elected for the year under report:—

• Messrs.

Raja K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur, *President*.

Rao Saheb A. Rama Rao Pantulu B.A., B.L., *Vice-President*

R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., *Secretary*.

N. Kameswara Rao, B.A., B.L., *Treasurer*.

D. Venkata Rao, M.A., L.T., *Librarian*.

Members of the Council.

B. V. Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L.

C. Atmaram B.A., B.L.

M. Rama Rao, B.A. (HONS.) B.Ed.

A. Sankara Rao, B.A., L.T.

The Librarian Mr.D. Venkata Rao having expressed his inability to carry on the work, the council accepted his resignation and elected in his place Mr.M. Rama Rao, B.A. (HONS.) B.Ed. on 23-8-32

To the vacancy caused in the managing council, due to Mr. M. Rama Rao being elected as Librarian, M R. Ry. D. Venkata Rao Garu M.A., L.T., was elected on 14-10-32.

Corresponding Members.

During the year, the council elected Messrs D. Ramanacharya and Vidwan K. Appanna Sastri, both of Osmania College, Warangal, as Corresponding Members of the Society for the valuable supply of Coins and Epigraphs made by them.

Members.

The number of ordinary members on rolls on 1-4-1933 stands at 174 as against 187 of the previous year, and the number of Life Members at 5 as against 3. The decrease in ordinary membership is unfortunately due to the financial stringency which has also affected the Society in other ways.

Subscribers.

As compared with the number of 40 Subscribers on rolls on 1-4-1932, there are at present 42 Subscribers and it is hoped that this number will increase still further during the year.

Patrons.

During the year, the Society gained one more Life Patron, viz. the Honourable The Rajah of Bobbili in addition to the Rajah of Puri, the Rajah of Khallikota and the Rajah of Chemudu (already elected) who very kindly promised to donate annually a sum of Rs. 100 towards the publication of the Journal. Attempts are made to request the other Patrons also to donate similar sums annually so that the work of the Society may continue unhampered.

Exchanges.

During the year, more new journals were admitted to Exchange. The Society's Journal continues to exchange with 80 Journals and Books published in India and outside showing that its work is widely appreciated.

Journal.

During the year, the council re-elected Mr. N. Kameswara Rao, B.A., B.L., to edit the Journal. It re-elected the same Editorial council.

During the year, the Society published 5 parts of the journal as against 4 parts of the previous year, viz., parts 3 and 4 of Volume VI and parts 1, 2 and 3 of Volume VII. Part 4 of Volume VII is under print.

The Society has continued the publication of "The Revenue Administration of the Northern Circars"—a Thesis for Ph.D. (London) prepared by Dr. Lanka Sundaram M.A., Ph.D., F.R.E.S. It is satisfactory to note that the articles published in the Society's Journal continue to receive attention and notice in the pages of several Journals. Several books and periodicals are being received for favour of review in the pages of the Journal.

The Society's best thanks are due to the Editor and the Editorial Board as well as to the Contributors for maintaining the quality of the Journal.

Kakatiya Celebrations and Kakatiya Sanchika.

The Secretary, Mr. R. Subba Rao and the Editor of the Sanchika Mr. M. Rama Rao have both visited Hyderabad during April with a view to arrange the function. The Council feels glad to report that the mission was completely successful, the Nizam's Government having accorded permission for the holding of the Conference at Warangal on 25th, 26th and 27th instants and several gentlemen at Warangal and Hyderabad having attended and made the function a success. This year the Society has already printed 200 pages of the Kakatiya Sanchika after duly celebrating the Kakatiya function at Warangal. Donations and Subscriptions amounting to nearly Rs. 1000 have been collected.

Meetings and other Activities.

During the year, the Society held 9 M.C. meetings to transact the usual business of the Society such as passing the accounts, admitting new members and exchanges, etc. The Secretary of the Society, contributed to the Seventh International Congress of Historical Sciences, Warsaw, Poland, a paper on "The Ganga Administration in the 10th and 11th centuries." The Secretary was also elected to the Senate of the Andhra University.

Reading Room, Library and Museum.

The details of progress are given in the Librarian's report. A Library Catalogue is now almost ready. A reference Library is created. At the time of the last annual meeting, the Library had 700 Volumes whereas now it has nearly 900 Volumes. This phenomenal increase is due to 200 books and periodicals (worth about Rs One thousand) being added, these having been received either for Review or Exchange or Presentation.

The Museum has also received important additions—Gold coins purchased or got in exchange from Mr S T. Sreenivasachary, Lead coins presented by D. Ramanacharya and Estampages of Stone inscriptions presented by K. Appannasastry & R. Subbarao. The impressions of three new C. P. grants viz., the Kechella, the Umavarma and the Pulimburu, published in the Society's Journal Vol. VI pt I, a stone containing a new Telugu Chola Inscription and some Gold Coins of the Vizianagar kings and a few Coins of the Eastern Ganga and Andhra kings have also been added.

The Library and the Reading Room continue to be located in the Theosophical Lodge where spacious accomodation is provided freely. The Society's best thanks are due to the President and Members of the Lodge. It is satisfactory to note that, as a result of the shift, the number of members who have visited the Reading-Room has somewhat increased. Attempts are being made to get a Research Hall built for the Society.

Finance.

The details are given in the statement of the Treasurer. Last year, the Council noted with alarm that, due to decrease in membership-fees and donations, there was considerable fall in the receipts and so the Society had to borrow to the extent of nearly Rs. 600. The Council also feels constrained to bring to the notice of the General body that some members of the Society, both resident and non-resident, have not been able to clear up their arrears to the Society. One relieving feature this year is that the Society has been able to realise more than Rs. 1,400 by way of Donations and by Sale of Society's publications. To improve still further the position of the Society, the Council earnestly appeals to all the members to bring into the Society more of their friends as members and to convert their ordinary membership into life-membership.

In conclusion, the Managing Council places on record its grateful thanks to Mr. D. Sreeramamurty B.A., for auditing the accounts of the Society.

Treasurer's Statement of Receipts and Expenditure.
(From 1-4-32 to 31-3-33)

RECEIPTS.			EXPENDITURE		
	Rs.	As. P.		Rs.	As. P.
Last year's balance	43	8 9	Postage	161	14 0
Subscription from Life Members	158	0 0	Travelling Expenses	136	10 0
Do. from Members	538	10 3	Printing and Paper	1076	1 6
Do. from Subscribers	294	3 0	Blocks and Photos	118	2 0
Donations	1101	15 2	Discharge of loans	623	6 0
Sale of Kalinga Sanchikas	59	5 0	Purchase of books	8	0 0
Do. Rajaraja Sanchikas	42	5 0	Do. of gold coins	97	8 0
Journal Volumes	218	2 0	Railway freight and cooly for books	4	6 0
Library Deposits	23	8 0	Binding of books	67	12 0
Temporary Advances by the Treasurer	247	0 0	Peon's pay	98	0 0
Mis. Receipts	2	0 0	Stationery	14	2 6
	2728	9 2	Lighting charges	24	0 0
			Permanent advances to Secretary and Editor		
			Kakatiya Sanchika for postage etc.	32	0 6
			Advances returned to Treasurer	247	0 0
			Miscellaneous charges	15	11 0
			S. B. Account	2	5 2
			Balance on hand	1	10 6
				2728	9 2

N.B.—Ten copies of Rajaraja Sanchika have been disposed of during the year--8 sold, 1 exchanged and the other given as complimentary. The price of 1 copy sold during the previous year is not yet realised. The number of copies on hand is 95. 12 copies of Kalingadesacharitra have been disposed of during the year--7 sold, 1 exchanged and 4 given as complimentary. The number of copies on hand is 367 of which 14 are with the binder and the rest with the Treasurer.

Parts 3 and 4 of Volume VI and parts 1 to 3 of Volume VII have been published during the year and the numbers of the above parts in stock are as follows:—

Vol. 6 pts. 3 and 4—162 Vol. 7 pt. 1—212 Vol. 7 pt 2—203
Vol. 7 part 3—200.

Checked the Statement of accounts and found them correct, and supported by vouchers.

N. KAMESWARA RAO, B.A., B.L.
Treasurer.
10-4-33.

D. SRIRAMAMURTI B.A.
10-4-33.

Library Report for 1932—33.

Period.

Mr. D. Venkata Rao M.A., L.T., continued to be the Librarian till 23—8—32 when he resigned and I was elected in his place. The receipts and issue of Books and Journals received my immediate attention. They were hitherto being entered in a Register without the date of receipt and without the nature of each entry being specified. The issue was being recorded in a log book kept in the Library, in charge of the peon. I have introduced the system of dating and specifying each entry in the Receipt Register and opened a separate Issue Register. The printed Library slips were made use of in this connection. The presence of the peon in the Library between 4-30 and 7 P.M. was regularised,

Accommodation.

The Library continued to be in the healthy and spacious Theosophical lodge, to whose authorities the sincere thanks of the Society are due for their continued hospitality and kindness. There are at present four almyrahs in the Library and into them all the books and journals are being crowded owing to lack of space. The arrangement of books and journals and the replacing of loose parts by bound volumes has increased the need for additional accommodation and this means additional space. Some of the stone inscriptions acquired by the Society are kept outside while C.Ps., estampages, coins and other Museum materials are in the custody of the Secretary of the Society, owing to lack of proper accommodation. I hope that the Museum section will soon be opened.

Additions.

The strength of the Library has considerably improved during the year under review. The additions this year amount to 231 as against 96 of the previous year. Out of these 23 were sent for review, 35 were presented and 173 got in exchange for the Society's journal. No appreciable number of books were bought owing to the stoppage of the Government and Municipal grants this year. The Library contains today 518 books, 340 bound volumes of journals and about 200 loose numbers of books and journals.

Binding

While the catalogue was being prepared, the loose numbers were all separated into their respective volumes and letters were addressed to their Editors for supplying missing parts. Eight loose parts were received in response therefor. 105 journals and books were bound during the year.

An examination of the old Registers of the Library has revealed the fact that 35 books previously borrowed by members had not been returned to the Library. Intimations are being sent to the members concerned and it is hoped that their early return would facilitate further binding work.

Cataloguing.

An attempt in this direction was made by Messrs. D. Venkata Rao and D. Sēmbasiva Rao and a typed list containing 392 books was got ready. Since taking charge, I verified this list with the books in the shelves, made many additions and brought it up-to-date. A separate list of the journals was also prepared. The books and journals were arranged properly and the catalogue was given to the press towards the close of February 1933.

The "books" section has been already printed and the "Journals" section is almost over. It is hoped to add to the catalogue a list of Copper-Plates, Coins and other Museum material, and print the Library rules as well in separate sections.

Reading-Room.

The number of visitors to the Library during the year was 900 as against 1201 of the previous year and only 45 books and journals were borrowed by members as against 58 of the last year, the decrease in either case being due to the distance of the Library from the town.

Suggestions.

The Library is increasing in size and volume day by day and needs, as such, greater care and attention. The exchange list is daily growing and the printed catalogue is sure to increase the issue of books. The need for a full-timed paid clerk for the Library is very much felt. Two more almyrahs are required for the decent arrangement of the books and journals in the Library and the separation of the Reference Section. It is also suggested that the Society Library may be affiliated to the Connemara Public Library, Madras in order to enable members to have access to more books otherwise not available.

The Librarian's sincere thanks are due to Mr. R. Subba Rao M.A., L.T. the Hon. Secretary of the Society for continued help during the cataloguing and arrangement of books.

M. RAMA RAO, B.A. (HONS.) B.Ed.
Honorary Librarian.

Proceedings of the Public Meeting held on 13—4—1933.

Mr. R.* Subba Rao, Honorary Secretary of the Society, while proposing Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar to the Chair, said before a gathering of the Members of the Andhra Historical Research Society, and several educated citizens of Rajahmundry in the Hindu Samaj premises on 13—4—1933:—

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure to propose Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar, a former professor of Indian History and Archaeology in Mysore and Madras Universities, who has done not a little in the field of Indian Historical Research, as Chairman I may say, without any fear of contradiction, that he was really the pioneer of Indian Historical Research and his work in various historical and archaeological fields is well-known to the students of history. For the last 22 years nearly, I happen to know him, ever since I was a student of the Christian College, nearly a quarter of a century ago. I was acquainted with him later on when I was studying for the M. A. Examination and I always had opportunities to approach the professor to receive advice. At all times, he was kind not only to me but to every student and it is with very great pleasure therefore, that I proposed him and the Council unanimously agreed that the Andhra Historical Research Society's Decennial Celebrations should be conducted by so well-known a professor who has done so much research work in the historical field. For several years, he was connected with the All-India Oriental Conference and as the Chief Secretary to the All-India Oriental Conference which met at Madras in 1926 he spared no pains and it was owing to his untiring efforts that it came to a successful end. I think you know what great work is being turned out by the All-India Oriental Conferences concerning everything that is connected with the field of historical and literary research. I happen to know Dr. Ayyangar more closely because, during the last 6 or 7 years, I am also connected with the All-India Oriental Conferences as well as the Indian Historical Records Commissions. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar has done great service in the cause of Historical Research and so, we ought to have him as our worthy President. I propose him once more to the Chair and thank him on behalf of this Association for his kindly coming over here at great personal inconvenience and, may I say, at a *great sacrifice* on his part.

Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu seconded the proposal and Dr. Ayyangar took the Chair. After usual prayer conducted by M.R. Ry. Chilakamarti Lakshmi Narasimham pantulu garu, the Chairman spoke as follows:—
Ladies and Gentlemen,

A Chairman is hard put to make opening remarks with nothing to remark upon. I dare say your energetic Secretary Mr. Subbarao has provided material upon which I might make some few remarks usefully. The all too flattering introduction that he gave of me and my work, perhaps bordering on the hyperbole, may well be excused on the ground that he spoke of his acquaintance with me for a number of years in the capacity of an advanced student at the University and ever afterwards in various ways as teacher and as one engaged in doing some little research work of his own in connection with this Historical Research Society of which he has been the most energetic Secretary for the last 10 years.* The work in the field of Historical Research is just now getting into some recognition. It has been so popular now, so well recognised and encouraged to draw people into it and for a considerable amount of time, for 35 years, within my knowledge, it is a question of up-hill work. Therefore one need not be surprised if persons and bodies engaged in such work find their part not a bed of roses or part of pleasure, but one of painful toil up through obstacles of all kinds.

A distinguished statesman with great reputation as administrator and patriot, just about the time that I was going to have the responsibility of the first Chair of an Indian University, put it to me point blank, "why do you waste your time in doing historical research work? Why can't you do some economic work?" He frankly put the question to me. And I am not prepared to say that we are still out of the 'movies' so far as that particular work is concerned. If Mr. Subbarao has been flattering, it comes really flattering unquestioned because, I said that kind of work does not receive attention and is not so popular as to receive such warm welcome from the multitudes. In regard to what I am able to do under stress of circumstances, that is, compared with the work to be done in the field, what I have been able to do is but infinitesimal, after 40 years of close study and 30 years of actual labour. It is 32 years since my first paper saw print. Then I have been more or less regularly at it these 32 years, and all the while I have been engaged upon absolutely nothing more than merely laying the *bones for a body*. And unless that is settled, the real putting in of the flesh and blood and the skin of *jubilant* color could not follow without bones being put in particular places. I am only a transitional worker laying the bones for those that follow and do all other architectural work to build up a real human creature. I have been so far labouring with some little success. It is not for me to claim nor even for Mr. Subba Rao to certify.

In regard to my coming here, I acknowledge Mr. R. Subbarao's description. I was really, when I last wrote to him, between the devil and the deep sea. After screwing up my courage and in the welcome warmth of this afternoon,— it is not merely an exaggeration and not a question of sentiment—I told Mr. Subbarao that I found consolation that I might dip my head in the Godavari and perform some kind of *Tharpana*. I shall not stand any longer between you and those who have undertaken to read before you some interesting papers this evening.

Then, the Reading of Papers, contributed by various scholars on subjects of much interest followed.

Mr. M. Ramarao B. A., (Hons). B Ed. read his paper on *Siva-yogasāramu* and Mr R. Subbarao M A., L T. on *Narahari Thirtha* and the paper on *Divyas or Ordeals* by Dineshchandra Sarkar M A. was read out by Mr. C. Atmaram B.A., B.L.

In bringing the proceedings to a close, Mr Ayyangar said: "Of course, papers read are interesting each in its own particular way. Mr. Ramarao's paper certainly brings some new facts and Mr Subbarao's has the merit of confirming the traditions that are prevailing in the times of *Narahari Theertha* in the Kalinga Country. The paper on the *Divyas or Ordeals* is interesting in as much as it throws interesting light on trial by Ordeal.

I may mention, as being present here, that the Research Society has had its struggles in its infancy for its existence and managed to pull together and has more healthy boyhood just reaching a stage of completing its tenth year, perhaps tomorrow,

It has done, during the period of infantile ailments considerable good work for which the managers deserve great credit. The Treasurer's Report published in the last year's Journal does not offer very cheerful reading nor any cheerful prospect but the treasury has been placed in careful hands and with the same careful management of that sort, I would say, the financial difficulties would soon become a thing of the past. It is not anything very peculiar to this society for, other Societies that are out to do some useful work have had their own struggles very similar, sometimes, or many times worse than the difficulties which the Andhra Society had to meet. Infantile ailments are incidental to infantile life. We ought not to be discouraged to go through these struggles. Persistency is the watchword and so we stick up to the watchword in this and in any other case. The Managers deserve congratulations for the promotion of this Society. With the same energy that has been exhibited these ten years, the Society is bound to go forward from step to step, in a glorious progress, so that, in fullness of time, the Andhra Historical Research Society will find its name among the learned Research Societies existing in various parts of the country.

Gentlemen, I thank you for the honour you have shown to me in asking me to preside over this evening function.

A. Subscriptions received during the quarter ending with 31-3-33.**(1) Members.**

Messrs	Rs. As.	Messrs	Rs. Rs.
Venkatarangiah M.	3 8	Somasundara Desikar	3 8
Srinivasaraghavachari M. K.	3 0	Veerabhadriah Sri Hota	3 0
Prakasam B.	2 0	Ramana Rao Y. V.	3 3
Banerji S. (31-33)	7 0	Raghavachari K.	3 0
Nageswara Rao G.	1 0	Krishnamachari M.	3 0
Rama Rao M.	3 9	Narasimham V.	3 0
Ranganayakulu Naidu P.	4 0	Sankara Rao A.	3 0
Suryanarayana K.	2 0		
		Total Rs.	48 1

(2) Subscribers.

Maharaja of Pittapuram	6 8
Campbell Library, Vizag	6 8
Commissioner, Ajmere-Merwara	6 8
Principal, Patna College	6 8
Do Parlakimidi College	6 8
Do P. R. College, Coconada	6 8
Do Govt. Arts College, Rajahmundry	6 0
Do Training College, Rajahmundry	6 0
Do Presidency College, Madras	6 8
Do C. D. College, Anantapur	6 8
The Andhra University (2 years)	13 0
The Librarian, State Library, Hyderabad	6 8
Subedar Saheb of Warrangal	6 8
Arthur Probsthain	17 14
Curator. Museum, Hyderabad Deccan	6 8
Hindustan Academy, Allahabad	6 3
Goa	6 8
	127 6

B. Donations received during the Quarter.

Dharmavira Vamana Ramachandra Naik	100 0
The Hon'ble the Rajah of Bobbili	100 0
Rajah of Chemudu	100 0
Total Rs.	300 0

Grand Total Rs. 475 7

N. KAMESWARA RAO, B.A., B.L.
Treasurer.

